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MAGAZINE OF THE
FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION

ellowship

Bertrand Russell

ARE WE DISARM?

Helmut Gollwitzer THE NEW PACIFISM

Henry F. Pommer ACADEMIC AID ON THE ROAD TO PEACE

Jewell Kirby Fitzhugh I TAUGHT IN ARKANSAS

Sidney Lens THE "NEW LEFT" GROPES FOR MEANING

Also in this issue: Brewster Kneen reports on his work with high school youth • George Fal-on writes on pacifism and veterans • Maxwell Geismar reviews THE MAGNOLIA JUNGLE

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In Context ... 1

Contributors ... 4

Dare We Disarm?—Bertrand Russell ... 5
A noted philosopher and Nobel Prizewinner views the prospect of a tension-ridden and weapons-laden world stumbling into disaster unless reason and common sense prevail.

The New Pacifism—Helmut Gollwitzer ... 9
In earlier times, non-pacifist Christians made a case for war as a lesser evil. Their modern counterparts are being driven to the conclusion that the new weapons call upon them to make common cause with pacifists in the struggle against a nuclear war.

Academic Aid on the Road to Peace—Henry F. Pommer ... 15
An educator indicates that some progress is being made in teaching "the things of peace" in colleges, and suggests more that could be done.

Peace Information Edition ... 17

I Taught in Arkansas—Jewell Kirby Fitzhugh ... 21
After a long career in a country schoolhouse, a loved and respected teacher falls victim to a heresy hunt in a segregationist state.

Disarmament (poem)—Kenneth Boulding ... 24

The "New Left" Gropes for Meaning—Sidney Lens ... 25
An American socialist examines the upsurge among the younger generation of British radicals in his article-review of "Conviction."

A Prayer of the Holy Spirit ... 26

Potpourri ... 27
Brewster Kneen, an FOR volunteer worker, reports on a summer of work with high school youth. George Fallon urges pacifists to fan the spark of anti-war feeling that many ex-servicemen have.

Books ... 30

Pamphlets ... 34

Letters ... 36

"That Men May Live" ... 36

COVER PHOTO: Foreground (right): U. S. Air Force "Thor" missile on display at Reyburn Plaza, Philadelphia. Background (left): Arch Street Methodist Church. Photo: William L. Jones, Jr.

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in context

EDITORIAL COMMENTS
ON THE CURRENT SCENE

SPY PLANE

These paragraphs are written on the day that Francis Gary Powers goes on trial in Moscow on charges of spying out Soviet military secrets for the United States. It is a dismal and depressing spectacle, from the self-righteous posturing of the Soviets to the fumblingly desperate attempts in this country to imply that the whole thing is somehow part of a Communist plot. In the middle stand the tragic figures of Powers and his wife and parents, conscious that they have somehow been betrayed but not knowing who betrayed them, the glamorous bubble of adventure and good pay collapsed into the sordid reality of a prison cell and possible death.

No one doubts that the trial will be a characteristic Communist propaganda spectacle, designed to reinforce the attempts of Soviet leaders to portray themselves as peace-loving innocents constantly menaced by the imperialistic Americans—designed also to make further U-2 flights more difficult by embarrassing and frightening the countries that provided bases for them. On the other side, our own propagandists will suggest that Powers has been mysteriously "brain-washed" (to confess what he has already admitted!) and that there is something unusual and sinister about Russian refusals to allow American lawyers to represent him.

Men on both sides destroy truth a hundred times daily, deceiving their own people far more than they do the enemy, preoccupied with the strangling net of distrust, suspicion and hatred. Men on both sides, professing vastly different ideas and ideals, grapple ever more closely in a common commitment to violence, threatening to drag the whole world down with them into a grave called victory. What a breath of fresh air would sweep the world if on either side men were to begin speaking the truth, if they were to lay aside for a time the fiction that their own country cannot possibly be wrong, and say honestly how they see the obstacles that stand in the way of a world at peace!

GOOD NEWS

Not the least depressing aspect of the spy plane case has been the expectedness of the reaction of Christian leadership in this country.

"Spying, like war itself, is essentially immoral and can be justified only to the degree that it helps prevent a greater evil," was the pronouncement of a leading Protestant churchman and a key figure in the World Council of Churches. And a respected Roman Catholic theologian, though observing that falsehood and suicide on the part of a spy present "serious moral problems," also concludes that spying can be a "justifiable means of self-defense" when a nation "has good reason to fear that a foreign power is building up its resources and making plans for a sudden unjust act of aggression."

Both are reasonable, rational observations that will win complete acceptance in both the Pentagon and the Kremlin, where everybody also agrees that war and spying are nasty and immoral and can only be justified because our side is in danger of unjust aggression on the part of the enemy. No good American or Soviet citizen need apologize for such sentiments, which combine a nice awareness of evil with a sensible appreciation of what is practical and realistic.

The only criticism one could make of the two pronouncements is that they are not good news, and that is what those who preach the gospel are supposed to be busy about. What these two men, and a host of their associates, have been saying is quite logical, but it is neither news nor good. It is, unhappily, what the Church has been saying for a long time, and it may be summed up in the admonition that it is all

right to do evil and expect good to come of it, or that the end justifies the means.

The *good* news speaks of motes and beams, of love and forgiveness, of penitence and humility, and concludes with the question, "What do you more than they?"

LESSER EVIL

A reader has written to complain that a news story in this magazine about Cuba sounded as though the editors believe Fidel Castro to be a "lesser evil" than his predecessor Batista.

Reports from Cuba are confused and confusing. From an initial popular feeling of warmth and support for the bearded young revolutionary and his incredible victory, American public opinion has shifted to a mixture of amusement and alarm and the notion that Castro is either insane or a Communist or both. At the same time there is a minority opinion, voiced by some capable reporters, that credits Castro and his associates, in the words of I. F. Stone, with "bringing about a social revolution of an admirably humane quality with amazing swiftness and order."

Clearly pacifists cannot condone some of the things that the Castro regime has done, notably the horrifying series of executions of "war criminals." Pacifists and non-pacifists alike were shocked by these "trials" and firing-squad deaths, and felt a responsibility for remonstrance. Must we not always protest cruelty?

Perhaps there is the rub, for the Castro supporters look at that word "always" and raise their eyebrows. How much protest was there against the cruelty, murder and corruption of the Batista regime, they asked pacifists who sought quietly to remonstrate with Dr. Castro. How much did you protest to the American government when it continued to supply Batista with arms right up to the moment of his fall?

It is a pertinent question. If we are not to be dismissed as irrelevant sentimentalists we must be concerned with the evils that create revolutions as well as with those created *by* revolution. We have shaky moral ground from which to protest the revolutionary's violence if we have done nothing to correct the injustices that have aroused him to violence.

In retaliation for Cuban hostility to this country, the Administration has reduced that country's sugar quota, for sale to this country, by 700,000 tons, a serious blow for a country whose economy is heavily dependent on sugar. But the Administration said nothing about Americans using less sugar, so the 700,000 tons must be made up somewhere else. Under existing legislation, that "somewhere else," for almost half the amount, is the Dominican Republic. So far, the Department of Agriculture has refused to assign the disputed amount to the Dominican Republic, but it is under heavy pressure from a number of Congressmen and Senators, who accuse it of jeopardizing relations with a "friendly government."

The Dominican Republic is ruled, as everyone knows, by Generalissimo Rafael Leonidas Trujillo Molina, and is, as *The New York Times* describes it, "an iron-fisted dictatorship . . . known for brutality." Many observers believe that it has been so undermined by its own corruption and cruelty that its overthrow waits only for some Dominican Castro to focus the widespread bitterness and resentment into open rebellion.

If that happens, and excesses of violence follow, will the vantage point from which we in this country try to temper the climate of revolt be the record that we penalized Castro to bolster Trujillo?

SUGGESTION

The Nebraska "Camp Farthest Out" has telegraphed to President Eisenhower its suggestion for handling the Cuban crisis. In a message signed by FOR member Dr. Frank C. Laubach, the CFO implored the President to "tell Premier Castro that we recognize the need of land reform in Cuba and that our government will reimburse all Americans for the losses they suffer as a result, allowing this to be a debt of Cuba to the United States payable when Cuba can afford to pay it. We believe all Americans would like this. None of us wish to be annihilated for seeming to oppose land reform in Cuba. We are sure that God wants better conditions in that island. We believe all the world would applaud you.

FOOTNOTE

British author James Morris, writing in *The New York Times Magazine* about Cuba, includes a paragraph that gives added point to the Laubach telegram:

"The contrast the United States has fostered between vulgar affluence and ignorant poverty . . . is ugly to contemplate. Its alliances with flashy dictators, crooked promoters, pimps and fly-by-nighters seem terribly unworthy of the world's prime liberty men. It has smeared across these heavenly seas and idyllic islands a veneer of heartless profit, unwholesome tourism, cheap materialism and all those rituals of the American Way which, thus transplanted from their rustic breeding grounds, do so much to tarnish the image of the Law, the one common denominator of decent peoples."

COMMENT ON OUR TIMES

Nominated for the most poignant summary of our times was one sentence from the account in *The New York Times* of the first telephone conversation to be bounced off a 10-story high balloon tearing through space a thousand miles above the earth: *"The first men to talk to each other by bouncing words off a balloon had nothing memorable to say."*

DEFENSE YET!

It may be that this department will have to get psychiatric help before it can shake off what sometimes seems to be a morbid preoccupation with the odd little world of Civil Defense. These mixed spasms of pity, indignation, and uncontrollable laughter probably are not entirely normal, and surely can't be good for the digestion. Still, it is hard to resist some of the items.

The American Institute of Decorators, for example, has come up with a tasty little combination of shelter-with-game-and-guest-room complete with an inlaid hopscotch game in the floor and a forty-year calendar on the wall. This clearly answers three of the big questions regularly asked by home builders: What will I do with a shelter if peace breaks out? (Play games and entertain guests); What will we do while we're in the shelter? (Play hopscotch); and How will we know when to come out? (Watch the calendar).

The Rev. Fred W. Kern, on the other hand, is steamed up about getting the churches to install basement shelters so that, according to Religious News Service, they will be ready to provide "physical as well as spiritual refuge." Dr. Kern, who spoke to the National Conference of Church Architecture, is director of religious affairs for the Office of Civil and Defense Mobilization. (It is not known whether plans include inlaying the Sermon on the Mount in the floor.)

New York's Governor Rockefeller, frustrated in his attempt to require all his state's residents to install fall-out shelters in their homes, is taking out his pique in plans for a $4 million underground shelter as an "alternate seat of government" for 640 "key personnel" in the state government. This presumably will leave his state with everything it needs but people.

But all of these pale beside the proposals released by the New York Academy of Sciences, which would build tombs 800 feet below New York's surface in which to house four million city dwellers for three months. The scheme is estimated to cost $680 per person, or a mere $2,720,000,000. The Academy has worked out all the details: entry ramps would be blown up when the people were in, and all essential services would be furnished—"much as in the finest escape-proof jail." The shelter would even include "restraint areas" for those who can't take it, and occupational therapy for sufferers from claustrophobia. And, presumably, a special cave off the main shelters will be provided for the storage of old plans for preventing the war. (An interesting observation is that the projected cost of this mausoleum would be almost three-fourths the annual amount estimated by economist Barbara Ward to be adequate to start *all* the world's underdeveloped areas toward self-sufficiency.)

QUERULOUS QUOTES

"With the exception of small groups, such as the Quakers, Christian theology up to now has not rejected war in principle, but only 'unjust war.' This is a distinction

which is incomprehensible to my scientifically trained mind."

—Prof. Max Born, Nobel Prize Winner and "father of nuclear physics," in *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists,* June 1960

* * *

"Nationalism is a mental disease of Western origin that seems to have infected the whole human race. Racialism is also a mental disease, but fortunately it is not a very widespread one. In the Western world it is found only among some of the peoples who speak Teutonic languages, and not even among all of these. The English-speaking, Dutch-speaking, and German-speaking peoples are the principal Western offenders. . . . Race prejudice is conspicuous by its absence [among] Moslems and the Spanish-speaking and Portuguese-speaking peoples."

—Arnold Toynbee, *The New York Times Magazine,* Aug. 7, 1960

* * *

"We are moving into a situation of suicidal tension in which the time available for deciding whether or not the human race is to continue will be reduced to seconds. . . . No human mind will be able to cope with this situation. Ultimately the decision-making function itself must therefore be embodied in the system. Instead of President Eisenhower we will have the box full of electronic circuits. . . . A simple mechanical engineer like myself is always greatly impressed by a black box full of electronic marvels. Or rather I am impressed when it works, but I am not surprised when it doesn't. Being a simple soul, the only certain thing I know about it is that it will eventually go wrong. I therefore order a spare. But if anything goes wrong with the box that represents Mr. Eisenhower, we will need to order a new world."

—J. B. Witchell (who resigned from Canada's Defense Research Board in protest) in *Saturday Night,* June 9, 1960

CONTRIBUTORS IN THIS ISSUE

Bertrand Russell is internationally known as a philosopher and is the author of a score of books ranging in scope from *The Principles of Mathematics* and *Human Nature, Its Scope and Limits* to popular books on specific human problems such as his recent *Common Sense and Nuclear Warfare.* "Dare We Disarm?" is reprinted by permission from the English periodical, *John Bull.* It has not previously been published in the United States.

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Information about book reviewers is on page 31.

Dare We Disarm?

BY BERTRAND RUSSELL

EVER SINCE the invention of the H-bomb, the human race has been exposed to a peril which is entirely new. It is the peril of universal death. A mistake by one man, at one moment, may bring about this disaster even when no one is expecting anything of the sort.

This is the consequence of the destructive power of nuclear weapons combined with the doctrine of instant retaliation, which holds that, in view of the advantages of delivering the first blow, H-bombs should be launched against the "enemy" when there is reason to suspect a hostile attack, without waiting to verify whether such an attack is, in fact, taking place.

The official policy of the British Government is based explicitly upon the belief that there is no possibility of protecting ordinary civilians from an H-bomb attack, but that that small portion of the population which is in charge of launching sites and H-bombs can be kept alive just long enough to exterminate a good many millions of Russians. It is apparently thought that every Briton, in his last gasps, will die happy in the thought of the imminent equal agonies in Russia.

This sort of policy must strike every ordinary person as criminal madness. There is better hope now than at any time during the last twelve years for the prevalence of a saner attitude on the part of the leading powers of the world. Whether reason and humanity will prevail against ancient habits of thought and feeling is still doubtful. If there is to be a happy issue, the decisive actions will have to be taken by governments. But governments, at least in the West, are influenced by public opinion, and for this reason it is very necessary that public opinion should be aware of the dangers and alert in seeking ways of avoiding them.

Mr. Khrushchev's proposal of general disarmament has taken the West by surprise and has faced Western statesmen with some very awkward questions. On the one hand, they dare not definitely oppose his plan, since, if they did so, Russia would achieve a very great propaganda advantage in the eyes of uncommitted nations; on the other hand, the instinct of Western statesmen is to suspect a trap and to think that, as in the past, armaments may be a source of safety.

It is not yet clear which of these two sets of considerations will govern Western policy. For my part, I am entirely convinced that the West ought to assume Khrushchev's sincerity and, on this assumption, suggest such safeguards in the way of inspection as may be genuinely needed.

But if this point of view is to prevail, it will be necessary that statesmen should assess the risks of this or that policy more realistically than they have hitherto done.

I think it should be possible to bring about such a reappraisal among Western

statesmen, since the arguments to be adduced are completely unanswerable, both from the point of view of national self-interest and from that of the future of man. I will endeavor to set forth what seem to me to be the arguments in favor of this point of view. The questions involved are so difficult and so unfamiliar that it is easy for governments to be themselves misguided and to generate a completely mistaken public opinion to which, in turn, they say they must bow.

The first thing to be considered is the question of Mr. Khrushchev's sincerity. Does he mean to carry out the ostensible purpose of his suggestions? Or is he trying to impose a trick by which the East will achieve a new superiority? I do not, myself, believe this.

My first reason for disbelieving it is that I think Mr. Khrushchev an intelligent man who is aware that general disarmament would further Russian well-being and that nuclear war would be a disaster to Russia as well as to all other countries. I am confirmed in this opinion by his neutral attitude on the Sino-Indian dispute.

People doubt his sincerity because of Russia's brutal suppression of insurrection in Eastern Germany and Hungary. I think this is due to a misinterpretation of the Soviet point of view. I think this point of view is one of strict adherence to legality without regard for human suffering or for what might be considered human rights. Yalta and Potsdam assigned Hungary and Eastern Germany to the Russian sphere, and this is considered by the Soviet Government to give rights to Russia over and above what the West intended to grant.

The moral to be drawn is not that Communist governments will not keep their word, but that agreements with them should be very precise. This applies to Khrushchev's disarmament proposals. If they are to be accepted, there must be very explicit agreement on the question of inspection.

Assuming Khrushchev's sincerity, what positive arguments are there for believing that acceptance of his suggestion is in accordance with Western interests? There are many, and I will begin with the least important.

The fiscal burden of armaments is, at present, already very severe and is certain, if no agreement is reached, to increase to astronomical proportions. Science is bound to invent more and more expensive ways of threatening the "enemy." We may expect both Russian and American stations on the moon, armed with missiles capable of exterminating Washington or Moscow at a signal from the government of either country. When people have got used to this state of affairs, there will have to be stations on Mars and Venus.

I do not pretend to foresee exactly what science will be able to do in the way of threatened destruction, but experience since 1945 is sufficient to show that neither side will shrink from any expenditure that may be thought necessary until the populations of East and West are reduced to bare subsistence level. There will then, almost inevitably, on one side or the other, if not on both, be an outburst of impatient fury promoted by men who find the nervous strain unendurable.

If, on the other hand, a disarmament agreement is reached, the resources of science can be used to raise the standard of life in every part of the world, and to prevent an angry determination on the part of undeveloped countries to share in the "blessings" enjoyed at present by those who possess a superiority in the arts of scientific homicide.

Big Chance of War

Much of the most serious argument in favor of a ban on nuclear weapons is that, so long as they exist, a nuclear war is at any moment possible, and in the long run, probable. Politicians and the public have not yet rightly estimated the risks of various possible policies. A policy of general disarmament is apparently thought, by Western statesmen, to involve a risk of surrepti-

tious gains by the Communist bloc, whether by propaganda or by "knavish tricks."

I will not deny that there may be some slight risk of this sort, but the Soviet Government must equally face the risk that Western ideology might penetrate parts of the Eastern bloc. I think this risk to Communist interests is at least as great as that to Western interests. So they cancel each other out.

But let us now consider the risks involved in the continued production and use of nuclear weapons. There is a cheerful assumption that of course these weapons will never be used. They exist only, we are told, as a deterrent.

This is an incredibly rash and unrealistic point of view. Mr. Dulles taught us to live with the doctrine of "brinkmanship," and, although at the moment a less madly dangerous policy is prevailing, we can have no assurance that good sense will continue to dominate. As things stand, there is little hope of preventing the spread of nuclear weapons to many nations which do not at present possess them. History shows that politicians are not invariably wise, and, when many are in a position to use H-bombs, the likelihood that at least one may be insanely desirous of power becomes great. In addition to this risk, there is the possibility of a misinterpreted incident leading to instant retaliation.

End of Humanity

It would seem, therefore, that in the absence of a disarmament agreement, the likelihood of a large-scale nuclear war, sooner or later, approaches very near to certainty; and such a war, if it occurs, would be an immeasurably greater disaster than the victory of whichever bloc we happen to dislike. A large-scale nuclear war might destroy the whole human race. It would, in any case, obliterate the population of Europe and at least three-quarters of that of the United States.

This risk is vastly greater than any of those that statesmen are taking care to avoid. The only reason for not allowing it to govern policy is that it is new and that it demands a realization of the interests which East and West have in common, rather than those very much smaller interests in which they compete. I think Khrushchev has grasped this fact and, as it is quite obvious and quite indisputable, I do not despair of its being grasped by Western statesmen.

Why are the obvious arguments for disarmament not universally admitted both in the East and in the West? The reasons, I think, are partly rational and partly mere instinctive obstacles to rationality. It is not wholly irrational for one side to regard as a trick any disarmament proposals proceeding from the other side, and the possibility of a trick is heightened by Russia's extreme reluctance, at various times, to permit adequate inspection.

If Mr. Khrushchev's present disarmament proposal is to be accepted, adequate safeguards in the way of inspection must, clearly, form part of the agreement. But it would be a terrible mistake if suspicion were to cause the West to reject a disarmament treaty without first ascertaining whether adequate inspection would be permitted. And I think the East, also, has had grounds for suspecting Western tricks —for example, when the West has proposed, for propaganda purposes, measures only suggested because it knows the East will reject them.

A second more or less rational argument is that the economy of the West, and especially of the United States, is geared to the production of armaments and that a great depression would be unavoidable if this suddenly ceased.

Peace Means Boom

This view is often proclaimed as if it were an indisputable truth, but those who are in the best position to judge take a different view. There is an American monthly called *Nation's Business,* which is the organ of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce. In October 1959, it published an article entitled "What Peace Would Do To You." This article says, among other things, "Any abrupt softening of cold-war pressures—if it comes—can bring this country a boom, not the recession suggested by such phrases as 'peace scare.'"

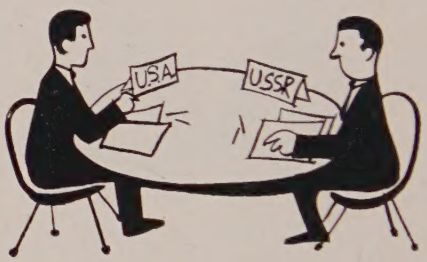
The article points out that the remission of taxation which would be rendered possible would lead to a large increase of consumer spending, and it supports this view by figures as to what has happened

after previous reductions of military spending in 1919 and 1945.

It should be emphasized that *Nation's Business* is not a propaganda organ and is not primarily concerned with questions of international politics.

But I think the real strength of the opposition to disarmament comes not from quasi-rational grounds, but from the purely instinctive mechanism which has been built up in human beings by six millennia of organized war. When a country feels itself threatened by another country or group of countries, the first instinct of everyone who thinks about the matter is to say: "We must make ourselves strong enough for defense if war should come, or, better still, strong enough to deter our enemies from attacking us."

It is this way of thinking which makes it so difficult to end the cold war by conciliation. The method of conciliation does not satisfy national pride and does not afford the sense of dominant power which unthinking patriots desire. There are even people who, in other respects, are not below the average of rationality, who yet think, where the present conflict of ideologies is concerned, that any degree of damage to the West, even to the extent of obliterating the whole population, would be worthwhile if it were accompanied by equal damage to the East.



It is, to my mind, amazing that anybody can think that the defeat of Communism is more important than the continued existence of our species. But perhaps the study of history should have prepared one for this kind of fanaticism. In the last days of the Byzantine Empire, the government of Constantinople preferred defeat by the Mohammedans to becoming "Azymites" like Western Christians. One could multiply such examples, but they have not, in the past, had the tragic importance which modern fanaticism derives from nuclear power.

The danger from nuclear weapons is one which threatens the whole human race and not only this or that party or nation. It is a danger which makes no distinction between rich and poor, white and colored, Christian and pagan, Communist and capitalist. Nevertheless, those in the West who point out the dangers inherent in nuclear warfare are regarded as traitorous friends of Russia, and are, in fact, mainly of the non-Communist Left in politics.

The only explanation that I can see for this curious fact is that most of those who are on the Right in politics are incapable of admitting the facts of the modern world because these facts make their creed absurd. I think we must hope that the reasons in favor of nuclear disarmament, which are entirely non-party, will come to be accepted by the governments of all important countries. Some people will say that the obstacle to a rational treatment of the problem lies, not with governments, but with public opinion. Public opinion, however, in such a difficult and technical problem is necessarily guided by what it is told.

At present the governments of East and West try to create a public opinion in which populations will die quietly without realizing, in advance, that this fate was being prepared for them. The governments, in this respect, are supported by those whose instinct it is to be always on the side of authority. They are supported, also, by the greater part of the press and by the pronouncements of scientists in government employ. And, among the elderly, there are many who think that the cataclysm will not come in their lifetime.

But more important than any of these forces is the natural disinclination to think about unpleasant subjects which, it is felt, may well be left to those whom they professionally concern.

Dishonest schemes

All this would be different if all governments could be induced to face the dangers, and to realize the new approach to international relations which these

(CONTINUED ON PAGE 34)

THE NEW Pacifism

BY HELMUT GOLLWITZER

IN 1526 MARTIN LUTHER published his famous pamphlet, "Can soldiers be in a state of grace?" This title expresses a question which the Church cannot evade. It is an inevitable consequence of the Christian message that people who hear it and are influenced by it come to the Church, which preaches this message to them, and ask: "If it is true—this message of God's reconciliation with the world, of His self-sacrifice on the Cross for man whom He loved and had lost, and if His commandment is true that we are to love our neighbor and even our enemy—can we still participate in the use of force in the many forms customary in human society, and without which this society cannot subsist, because there is so much sin and evil in the world? Can we still continue to be judges, policemen, government officials, government ministers, statesmen and soldiers?" The Church should not evade the duty of answering these questions, and it always has answered them. How it did so in detail we shall discuss later. That is why it seems to me all the more surprising and shameful that it has taken us theologians and churchmen twelve whole years since the first atom bomb was dropped to make any clear statement about this question which is crucial for every Christian, for everyone who hears the Christian message—the question whether people who participate in atomic warfare can be in a state of grace.

Personal Commitment

During these twelve years the Church has, of course, not simply remained silent. Every group in Christendom—the Evanston Assembly of 1954, the Pope and many others—has sent appeals admonishing the governments which possessed atomic weapons to come to an agreement on the abolition of nuclear weapons and the control of atomic energy, and to stop their dangerous atomic experiments immediately. But the weak point in all these appeals was that they gave no answer to the question: "What will you Christians actually *do* if, in spite of every effort, another war breaks out and has to be fought out with the new weapons? Will you then, as most of you did in the wars of the past, once more collaborate and encourage others to collaborate, reminding them of their duty to obey the authorities and to fight for their fatherland? Or will you do something quite different?"

Martin Buber replied as follows to the question as to why, hitherto, all the appeals against the use of atomic weapons had remained ineffective: "They were *not committed;* they only said what *other* people—those in the governments and the General Staff of the armies—ought to do. They never stated what the authors of these appeals would do *themselves,* nor to what they committed themselves. There was no sentence in these appeals beginning with the word 'I'—in the case of war I

will do this, not that! And it is only when a man commits *himself* that others really listen to him." That is why the protest of the 18 German nuclear physicists in March 1957 had such a strong effect. It contained the following sentence: "We, at any rate, will not co-operate." The statements so far made by the churches have not involved any self-commitment; that is why they have petered out like all the others, completely ineffective.

Why did the churches avoid committing themselves? Why did Christians avoid facing the question whether one can participate in atomic warfare and still remain in a state of grace? I think their hesitation was due to political and theological reasons. Atomic weapons were first discovered in the West and were developed in order to avert the menace first of yellow, then of red, totalitarianism. Today their existence serves to maintain the balance of power between West and East, and it is hoped through them to prevent the further spread of the communist dictatorship; they act as a mutual deterrent against atomic warfare, which might break out much more easily if one side were stronger than the other. Freedom of speech exists in the West, but not in the East. Anyone who refuses to participate in the use of atomic weapons therefore weakens the West and increases the danger of our being overwhelmed by Bolshevism. He makes it more difficult for the governments in the West to maintain an order based on freedom and justice, and plunges soldiers and politicians into insoluble conflicts of conscience. Anyone who answers our questions by definitely rejecting the use of CBR (chemical, bacterial and radiological weapons) will have to listen to such objections from every side, and he must raise them for himself also, if he wishes to avoid giving an over-simple answer which is of no help to anybody.

Reprints of this article are available at 10c each. Write: FOR, Box 271, Nyack, N. Y.

Conflict of Conscience

How can one obey the Christian message about loving God and one's neighbor, when one has to use force or even kill other people to maintain order and justice? This is where the conflict of conscience arises. Hitherto all the great Christian confessions have given the same answer (for different theological reasons but with the same result in practice). The classic formulation of this answer is found in the Declaration made by the Confessing Church of Germany at Barmen in 1934: "In the world which is not yet redeemed in which the Church exists, the State has been entrusted by God with the task of maintaining justice and peace, as far as is humanly possible, by using (or threatening to use) force." It is therefore the duty of every Christian to assist the state in this task. Just as the police are essential for the maintenance of justice and peace at home, so the army is essential to maintain justice and peace outside. As long as the state uses the army to defend justice, the Christian acts rightly in helping the state as a policeman, soldier or munitions worker, even if this involves having to kill those who threaten his country with armed force. Therefore a soldier *can* be in a state of grace.

It is true, this answer met with some opposition within the Christian Church from some small groups which held convictions of Christian pacifism. But big Christian churches had good Christian reasons on their side; they were certain that they had the Bible behind them. We cannot examine the reasons for and against this answer here.

But we must point out that it does not justify the use of violence unconditionally, nor participation in any war whatsoever. It related solely to certain definite cases, when the state was forced to have recourse to war in order to defend itself against unjust aggression in order to maintain justice. And even in such cases it was enjoined that the war must be conducted in

accordance with the rules of honorable chivalrous combat; the civilian population must be protected, the destruction reduced to the minimum, the purpose being not to annihilate the enemy but to force him to make peace. As a result war has to a certain extent become humanized in Europe, thanks to recognition of the Red Cross, the protection of prisoners of war, the prohibition of the use of gas and of dum-dum bullets, and the bombardment of open towns (as laid down in the Hague Conventions of 1907 which were signed by all the civilized nations). It was during the Second World War that a cleavage became apparent between the past efforts to humanize war and its future deterioration into complete brutality. It was clearly the last war in which the states involved still to some extent kept their pledge to fight in a civilized manner—but it had already shown signs of developing into an unrestricted war of annihilation. The new factor in the situation due to the discovery of CBR weapons is that the governments and military commanders are no longer in a position to decide whether they will wage war in accordance with international law. The new weapons have taken control of the situation. With such weapons it is impossible to conduct a war for the defense of justice, as in former times. They are only suitable for a war which tramples all justice and humanity underfoot. Such weapons mean the end of all morality; they mean that wars in which Christians could under certain conditions participate, without infringing Christian morals, are now a thing of the past.

Are CBR Weapons Different?

It was only little by little that this truth became apparent to Christians. Theological ethics regarded the basic problem as solved: whether in certain cases a soldier can still be in a state of grace. They therefore did not ask themselves whether the development of modern technical weapons and military methods did not completely transform the nature of war to such an extent that it was high time for the Church to protest. So we slid blindly into the age of total war, clinging to formulas which may have been applicable in earlier times. That is why people often ask us today whether the CBR weapons are really essentially different from the atrocities committed during the Second World War, and whether the Church, which hitherto has never radically opposed participation in war, should do so now. There is only one answer: the Church ought probably to have refused to participate in war much sooner; at any rate, this is its very last chance to do so, because the new weapons of mass destruction have brutalized warfare so completely that participation in it is completely incompatible with the will of God. The weapons which Paul, Augustine and Luther had in mind could still be adapted to use in a war fought in defense of justice. Once the decision had been taken to apply force in the cause of justice, then the use of a rifle and a culverin was as justifiable as the use of a sword or a catapult. Although all lethal weapons are terrible in themselves, it could not be affirmed that such weapons "misused God's gifts, blasphemed against God's goodness, and betrayed man who is made in God's image" any more than did the sword spoken of by Paul, in face of the still more terrible reality of evil in the world and the need for adamant resistance to it.

The official reports and articles in the technical military periodicals today, describing the diabolical inventions of perverted science and strategy, give one the impression that they are written by madmen. It suffices to read a few of them; they make it superfluous to give any lengthy explanations as to whether modern methods of mass destruction are different in quality from the weapons of earlier times. The very question is an insult to the honorable weapons formerly used, which were carried openly, and which it would have been considered dishonorable and treacherous to employ against an unarmed man.

Those arms were a token of a virile concern to defend justice and to protect the weak against exploitation and wrong; the man who used them had personal control of them, so that he could use his discretion. There was therefore some sense in giving him advice about the distinctions between a Christian soldier and a common assassin. Today it has become impossible to draw any such distinction—and this is

the primary reason for our refusal to participate in war today.

Death-knell of Military Ethics

By their very nature these weapons eliminate all distinction between combatants and non-combatants. It is true earlier types of weapons (from the axe to the bomb) could also be used against non-combatants; but that was an illegitimate way of using them; it was not determined by their very nature. The new instruments of warfare completely abolish all distinction between combatants and civilians; in fact, their very purpose is to decimate the population of the enemy country. By their very nature these weapons are blind; some of them (the biological and chemical ones) have always been so, because they were originally invented to be used as insecticides. And they still are insecticides; they force us to regard and treat the population of the enemy country as if they were vermin to be exterminated. This is equally true of the so-called tactical atomic weapons, as was clearly pointed out by the 18 scientists in their Göttingen declaration.

The suppression of the distinction between combatants and civilians which characterized the wars of the past, the existence of new weapons which aim at destroying not only the enemy's troops but the entire population not only of the enemy but also of one's own country (if they have the misfortune to live in the combat zone)—all this changes also the character of the deterrence which is the purpose of armament in peacetime. Hitherto the purpose of armaments was to deter the enemy from aggression by threatening him with armed resistance. The present methods of intimidation, on the other hand, are really threats to take reprisals on hostages. Intimidation by nuclear weapons is a threat to proceed to a terrible retribution; if millions of innocent citizens, adults and children, are wiped out indiscriminately, the same fate will be inflicted on the population of the enemy; it may even be undertaken as a preventive measure. This clearly means the end of that partial humanization of war which existed in the past—just as there can no longer be any mutually respected Red Cross, and no code of ethics for the soldier. When a soldier is trained to massacre thousands of civilians at once, he cannot be expected to respect the life of an individual non-combatant. The new weapons have sounded the death-knell of all military ethics; and this places the army chaplain in an entirely new position. These weapons destroy all connection between war and justice, on which the analogy between war and police work was formerly based. This analogy made it quite clear that a war undertaken in defense of justice could not resort to "any methods whatsoever," any more than a murderer can be menaced by "any methods whatsoever" in order to deter him from crime. If a kidnapper has kidnapped a child and threatens to murder it, the police cannot kidnap his own child and threaten to murder it. When Hitler announced, in January 1939, that he intended to "liquidate" all the Jews in Europe if war was declared, the Western powers could not retaliate by threatening to kill an expatriated German for every Jew.

Certain methods and certain threats destroy the very justice which they are trying to safeguard. For threats are effective only if one is prepared to carry them out. Hence the limitations of the police, who cannot have recourse to "any methods whatsoever," as the criminal does. But they accept these limitations in the name of the justice which they exist to defend, and endeavor to be stronger than the criminal while confining themselves to legitimate methods, i.e. methods which respect the difference between guilty and innocent persons. The same applies to international relations; war can no longer be said to safeguard justice when the methods which it employs, or threatens to employ, are in themselves crimes.

Total War of Extermination

The Christian ethic concerning war was, moreover, based on the assumption that the purpose of the war was to conclude a just peace with the enemy who, through the use of force, had been obliged to abandon his unjust intentions and to accept a new phase of peaceful co-existence —just as the police use force not in order to kill the offender but in order to disarm him. And the modern theory of the just war recognized the enemy's right to live, and to exist as a sovereign state. The rules of warfare and the weapons used were in accordance with this theory; so were the hostilities which were always preceded by warnings, by a solemn declaration of war, and in which battles alternated with periods of respite so that diplomacy was never completely paralyzed and there was always opportunity for contacts, negotiations, and for the official intervention of neutrals.

The new weapons, on the other hand, have only one purpose: to take the enemy by surprise and annihilate him. And they insist on nothing less than unconditional surrender. They correspond to a mentality which refuses to recognize the enemy's right to live and which is blind to any relationship except that of friend-and-foe. It refuses to recognize any *human* relation to the enemy or any responsibility toward him, and regards it as treason even to think that the antagonism may be relative. It is the mentality of the man who thinks he is the only person fit to live and who therefore wants to destroy everything outside his own "world." It is the mentality of the "total war of extermination" waged by Hitler and Stalin against their political opponents within their own countries. This mentality is now expressed in foreign policy through the new weapons. One can even say more: not only do these weapons correspond to this mentality; they condition it and impose it. They can only be used (in fact or in threat) if we are prepared to stop at nothing, to inflict every kind of disaster on those who touch our property, to stop at no injustice in order to defend our own rights, to destroy the lives and health of millions of people in town and country, including women and children and even the lives of future generations, in order to maintain our Western freedoms and privileges (or, on the other side, in order to maintain Socialism.)

These new weapons turn us all into murderers in our mentality; for that is the only mentality which can produce and use such weapons. The older weapons left us the choice of how they should be used, so that there was still some purpose in urging people to use them rightly; the new weapons, on the other hand, cannot be used except for indiscriminate mass murder. Anyone who uses them is forced into the mentality of a murderer. A Christian Church which recognizes its fellow men as barriers appointed by God against our own sinful tendency to pride and self-glorification, and which realizes that it is the Body of Christ extending over all frontiers (and that this is not merely an empty phrase), a Christian Church which recognizes that in the enemy camp there are also men whom God loves and who are members of the Body of Christ, might still consider it possible to participate in the former struggles between combatants, owing to its own existence within the secular orders. But if the Church were to participate in an atomic war of annihilation it would destroy itself spiritually, even more than externally. It must therefore make it quite clear in advance that it will refuse to take part in such a war.

Moral Irrelevance of "Clean" Bomb

Unlike any of the weapons of warfare used in the past (even including the biological and chemical weapons), atomic weapons affect future generations and the vegetation of the earth. They are particularly horrible because they cause disastrous mutations in the reproduction genes. They thus perpetuate the destruction that they cause for an idefinite period: peace is rendered impossible; they are therefore completely unsuitable as means of achieving peace. The total destruction which they cause and their unforeseeable consequences exclude all possibility of forgiveness between nations. In the case of mass destruction they would affect the very nature of man himself, and the biological changes wrought would be signs of a far deeper change in him: the

fact that he had already lost all sense of right and wrong. Official propaganda (on a moral level worthy of its object) is endeavoring to dull people's anxiety by advocating the production of a "clean" H-bomb. It quotes statistics to show that, under the best conditions, the radiation from a "clean" bomb would affect only 10,000 victims, whereas the radiation from a "dirty" bomb would affect 500,000—imagining that such derisory considerations constitute a difference of any moral relevance.

With regard to the noble attempts to justify this "clean" bomb there is another point: in contrast to all past weapons which did no harm to anyone in peacetime, the very fabrication of these new weapons takes a heavy toll of human lives, the number being still under dispute. For reasons of home policy, therefore, when carrying out atomic experiments the governments concerned select sites which will affect their own people as little as possible. The victims of the experiments are therefore the people of small, defenseless states, especially among the colored peoples. No moralist can possibly explain how all this is compatible with the Christian ethic concerning the duties of governmental authorities.

End of Democracy and Freedom

Hitherto the wars in which Christians could participate without detriment to conscience were called "wars of defense"; owing to the new weapons this type of war has become impossible. Even when the case is clearly one of aggression, the next moment the aggressor has to defend his very life against extinction, so that both antagonists become aggressive and defensive at the same time. Another reason is that hitherto defense has meant defending one's homeland behind the front line. Already through aerial warfare the whole country has become a battlefront. In future this will apply on an incomparably larger scale; furthermore, the battalions fighting on the ground will no longer be defending their homeland, but merely their own skins. In future the purpose of defense will not be to protect the population; the armed forces will form the core of the state and will fight for the survival of the state. The notion of defending one's country is out of date; anyone who quotes it is either blind or a hypocrite. As a consequence all decisions concerning negotiation or capitulation will be taken right out of the hands of the people and of their elected representatives; they will rest solely with the military power. Atomic warfare means the end of democracy and the end of freedom—the ostensible aims always quoted in order to justify it. The population—defenseless victims—are interested only in peace at any price; they are nothing but war materièl in the hands of the military authorities, who regard themselves as the state itself.

On both sides of the barrier between East and West the ideologies today are so rigid that under the romantic slogan, "death rather than slavery," many people (both leaders and ordinary citizens) tend to think it would be preferable to destroy their own nation together with the enemy rather than to fall into the enemy's power. Even after his death Hitler continues to exercise a fascination on countless people who have fallen under the spell of his mentality of despair. The Christian teaching that suicide is forbidden by God has therefore assumed tremendous political importance. But one cannot believe that this prospect of self-destruction is the only factor, or the decisive one, which forces us today to reject the notion of the "just war," as if certain methods of warfare were to be condemned on moral grounds only because they return like a boomerang to destroy those who employ them. This can not be the primary reason for rejecting them, nor the only one; it may even be possible to avoid such efforts. For unlike individual suicide, in this case the self-destruction is not intentional. It is merely passively accepted. Hence the efforts to produce a "clean" bomb aim at fabricating a weapon whose destructive efforts have no repercussions on one's own side.

(CONTINUED ON PAGE 35)

ACADEMIC AID on the road to PEACE

BY HENRY F. POMMER

DISCOURAGINGLY little is being done by higher education to help create world peace. Yet some educators are concerned about the problem and have taken a few steps to meet it. The following summary of those steps is offered as an aid to further progress.

Unfortunately, many institutions feel they do enough by educating future diplomats and members of the armed services, or by sanctioning extra-curricular groups such as International Relations Clubs. Many are satisfied with brief attention to pacifism in Christian Ethics courses, or with the unquestionable truth that conventional courses in almost every college discipline, but particularly in the humanities and social sciences, can be of some value in promoting international understanding and good will.

Happily, a few institutions have gone beyond these minima. Their programs directly relevant to peace can be grouped under three headings: public lectures, activities leading to degrees, and research. Public lectures range from a single address by a visiting specialist to an integrated year-long series. At the University of Washington in Seattle, a non-credit course in the Extension Division emphasized the pacifist position and had over seventy registrants. It was presented by lecturers from both the university faculty and outside. At Washington University, St. Louis, "Scientific Aspects of the Problem of Peace" was the common title for Friday evening lectures by professors from six departments: Anthropology, Economics, History, Political Science, Psychology and Sociology. At the New School for Social Research, Professor Subodh Chandra Roy has for ten years taught a course in the Philosophy of Nonviolence; it may be taken for credit.

Seminars and Research Projects

Activities regularly leading to degrees include both individual research projects and courses, whether undergraduate or graduate. As just one illustration of the first, a thesis on the sociology of nonviolence has been accepted by Ohio State University for a master of arts degree. During the 1956-57 school year, Fairleigh Dickinson University inaugurated a three-credit seminar in Armaments Control for World Security. Enrollment is limited to seniors on the honors list and to graduate students; connected with the course is a lecture series for the entire student body, and a community action program. An older project was begun in 1948 at Manchester College, Indiana: a Curriculum in Peace Studies which embraces not only traditional courses in international relations, political science, sociology, and economics, but also two untraditional courses—Basic Philosophy of Peace, and Principles and Pro-

cedures for Peace-Making.[1] Finally, three courses at the Boston University School of Theology illustrate work at the graduate level—The Churches in International Relations, India's Fundamental Concept of Peace, and Seminar in Christian Pacifism. The last of these, taught by Professor Paul Deats Jr., raised such issues as the pacifist testimony of the Church in various groups and times, the Roman Catholic concept of a "just war," militarism in education, "the Christian response to the atomic crisis," and difficult problems of "responsibility" versus "absolute ends."

Undergirding successful public lectures and credit-carrying activities must be mature research, most of which is probably done by professors pursuing individual interests. At some universities, however, institutes or similar organizations give cross-fertilization and continuity to the investigation of war and peace. At Stanford University, for example, the Hoover Institute on War, Revolution, and Peace contains an unusually rich collection of source material. At Columbia University is an Institute of War and Peace Studies supported in part by the Carnegie Corporation and the Rockefeller Foundation. The University has also conducted seminars at which faculty from a variety of departments met regularly to pool their ideas about research problems in peace. Harvard has its Research Center in Creative Altruism supported by the Lilly Endowment, and its Defense Studies Program supported by the Ford Foundation and concentrating chiefly on the military aspects of national security.

Clearly enough, faith in the values of education and horror at the prospect of another war should increase the efforts of our colleges and universities to present a clear knowledge of the causes and consequences of past wars, and of the major proposals for preventing another. These should be presented in undergraduate, graduate, and community education. The techniques already mentioned need to be used more widely; perhaps new and more successful ones can be discovered. We should not be afraid to experiment with inter-departmental majors on the nature of war, with new courses on the sociology of Gandhi's methods, or on biographies of workers for peace.

Might we not even work toward a time when some college of acknowledged reputation will establish a summer Institute of Nonviolence?[2] Students from all over the country could acquire credit towards degrees from their own institutions while studying such courses as

- The History of Nonviolent Mass Movements,
- The Sociology of Nonviolence in Race and Labor Relations,
- The Psychology of Fear, Aggression and Love.
- The Economics of War, Armament and Disarmament.
- International Agencies and World Government.
- Nonviolence in the World's Major Religions.[3]

It is not difficult to imagine an ideal faculty for such an Institute. To imagine a large student body is more difficult, yet some students might well prefer two of these courses to two of the more conventional summer-school offerings in Accounting, Marriage and the Family, or Philosophy of Education. The Institute might be particularly popular if held near a large city to which many students normally return for summer vacations.

But even creating such an Institute is only part of what many of us must do to prevent the shamefaced admission that we have two-credit seminars in Advanced Driver Education, but no course on the World's Road to Peace.

1 Cf. H. F. Pommer, "The Quaker Colleges and Peace Education," *Friends Journal*, V, 346-7 (May 30, 1959). The article reports how little is being done by Quaker colleges, but it failed to report a course on War and Peace at George Fox College, and one on The Philosophy of Pacifism and Conscientious Objection at Guilford College.

2 What may develop into an important step in this direction is the summer seminar on pacifism to be held from June 16 to July 28 at the Putney Graduate School of Teacher Education, Putney, Vermont.

3 Cf. H. F. Pommer, "Higher Education and Peace," *Friends Journal*, III, 406-7 (June 22, 1957).

PEACE INFORMATION EDITION →

The following four pages (on tinted paper at right) comprise the Peace Information Edition of **Fellowship**, published on the 1st and 15th of every month. Subscribers receive three issues of this Edition separately between issues of the 36-page bimonthly edition.

Fellowship
PEACE INFORMATION EDITION

SEPT. 1, 1960
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A QUEST FOR UNITY ABOVE EAST AND WEST

The Central Committee of the World Council of Churches, meeting in St. Andrews, Scotland, last month urged its members to help "create the conditions" that would permit Communist China's admission to the United Nations. This positive move from churchmen, at a time when leaders of nations are spending their time "fixing the blame on each other for past failures," is a sign of hope in the long road toward bringing the peoples of the world together and making world-wide disarmament a reality.

An even more hopeful sign occurred this summer at Bièvres, France, when the third in a series of pacifist-inspired theological conferences included for the first time churchmen from the Communist countries, including the Soviet Union. The Russian Orthodox Church is one of the few major communions which has not yet affiliated with the World Council of Churches. It was represented at Bièvres by Prof. Pariiski of the Orthodox Theological Seminary in Leningrad.

The three Puidoux conferences have been attempts to bring together representatives of the pacifist "sects" and of the "state churches" for mutual understanding particularly in the area of world peace. First of the series, held in Puidoux, Switzerland, brought together 27 theologians, some of them from the Historic Peace Churches and other Western pacifist groups and some of them Continental European theologians of Reformed or Lutheran persuasion. Puidoux II was held at Iserlohn, Germany, in the summer of 1957. All three have been jointly sponsored by the Historic Peace Churches, the IFOR, and a half dozen German official bodies (*landeskirche*).

This year's meeting brought 70 people from twelve countries including the USSR, Finland, France, Great Britain, Germany (East and West), Holland, Canada, Switzerland, India, and the U.S. American delegates included: FOR member Douglas V. Steere, A. J. Muste, Dean Harold Bender of the Mennonite Seminary at Goshen, Ind. and others.

One of the important delegates to the conference was Dr. Ernest Wolf, distinguished professor of Church History at Göttingen, who pointed out that

(Continued on next page)

Help Needed!

The FOR wants to bring to the attention of 500 leading American "opinion makers" the brilliant new pamphlet by England's Commander Sir Stephen King-Hall, "Common Sense about Defense," (35¢) which it is importing in quantity in an American edition.

FOR members can help by sending to the national office (Box 271, Nyack, N.Y.) names and addresses of leading personalities in their communities, such as:

Top TV-radio discussion program moderators (not news broadcasters).

Newspaper editorialists and columnists likely to be interested and open-minded.

Authors, professors, others in intellectual community, entertainment world, or church who are influential and have exhibited concern and originality about peace issues.

Please be discriminating, since funds are limited. Send names c/o Alfred Hassler.

Fellowship

Box 271, Nyack, New York

ALFRED HASSLER, Editor

WILLIAM ROBERT MILLER, Managing Editor

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A Quest for Unity *(contd)*

while not becoming a Christian pacifist in the usual sense of the term, he had become committed to the "nuclear pacifist" position, as have a substantial number of other German theologians.

Much remains to be done, conference members agreed. Such issues as the relations of church and state, for example, need further exploration. But according to a report from A.J. Muste, a "noteworthy contribution to understanding and peace" had been made in the context of "a strong feeling of fellowship."

It was from small beginnings like this that the World Council itself took shape not so long ago. The very idea of Christian unity on a world scale implies the quest for peace symbolized by the Bievres meeting. By implication, each in its own way is building bridges across frontiers of nation and ideology which statesmen may someday cross.

Sit-In Successes Grow Apace

Lunch counters were integrated at four Lexington, Ky., variety stores on Aug. 22, thus ending a seventeen-month anti-segregation campaign sponsored by the local Congress of Racial Equality. During the week of Aug. 15 alone, forty-four white and Negro ministers sat-in at local stores.

On Aug. 11, ten Negro students were convicted of "trespassing" at the S.H. Kress Co. lunch counter in Greenville, S. C. The Rev. J. S. Hall, local Congress of Racial Equality Chairman, said that "sit-ins will continue" there until Greenville joins with other southern communities in achieving lunch counter integration.

Three variety stores integrated their lunch counters in Miami, Fla. last month following sit-in demonstrations by teams set up by two members of the local Congress of Racial Equality. Miami is the first city in the state to to integrate since sit-ins began there on Feb. 1.

Eating places were also desegregated in Greensboro, N. C. during July, where the lunch counter sit-ins began.

During the first six months of 1960, profits of the Woolworth Company dropped 20% over the same period last year, according to a report made by James R. Robinson, CORE executive secretary, in New York last month. "This decline in profits," he said, "may have something to do with the opening of lunch counters in 87 cities of 11 southern states."

FOR Members Arrested; Vigil Protests Weapons Research

FOR members Roy C. Kepler and Samuel B. Tyson were arrested last month for civil disobedience at the University of California Radiation Laboratory in Livermore, Calif. Participating in a five-day vigil protesting nuclear weapons research, the men attempted to bypass security guards in order to speak with lab employees and urge them to stop designing atomic bombs. However, they were immediately taken into custody. Upwards of 500 troops had been "alerted" in expectation of a "Communist-inspired riot."

A total of 30 people participated in the vigil itself, which lasted Aug. 5-9. Members engaged in picketing, leaflet distribution and a "peace march" from Livermore to the laboratory.

News coverage was excellent in local newspapers.

If your copy of FELLOWSHIP does not reach you promptly, please write or speak to your Postmaster and ask for better service.

NEWS from the peace front

Negro college students were welcomed at five white churches in Atlanta, Ga., on Aug. 15, their second such visit in a campaign to bring about local church integration. Treatment was not so hospitable at five other churches where students were refused seats or ushered to special pews. No major incidents were reported. However, opposition to the "kneel-in" campaign as a "deliberate attempt to embarass the churches" was expressed by the official board of the Wesley Monumental Methodist church in Savannah, Ga., last month.

The demonstrations are being sponsored by the Committee on Appeal for Human Rights, a bi-racial student organization.

An editorial on the "kneel-ins" appeared in the Aug. 24 issue of *The Christian Century*.

* * *

Forty people took part in a vigil commemorating the 15th anniversary of the atomic bombing of Hiroshima on Aug. 6 at the Wright-Patterson Air Force Base in Yellow Springs, Ohio. Participants included Antioch college students, ten children, and members of the local Quaker meeting. Among those who stopped to talk with vigilers was a Japanese student from Penn State College, who pointed out that he found "very few Americans who fully understood the Japanese feeling about deaths from the A-bomb," and thanked the group for what it was trying to do.

The vigil was sponsored by the Yellow Springs Friends Meeting.

* * *

A group of anti-pacifist demonstrators harassed some 150 participants in the Polaris Action peace walk from Boston to New London during the first day of their journey last month. Driving a car with a 20-ft. anti-pacifist sign attached to its top, the four-man team went in advance of marchers, distributing leaflets and hate propaganda. However, marchers were friendly to the demonstrators, and they did not return after the first day.

A total of 20 people formed the "hard core" of the march, walking the entire distance, while others left to return to their jobs. The former joined with Polaris Action team members in protesting the manufacture of missile-firing submarines in the New London area.

The walk was sponsored by the Committee for Nonviolent Action and was organized in Boston by former FOR Regional Secretary Robert Gussner and Peter Salmon, both of whom are serving in the FOR Peace Volunteers Program.

* * *

A total of 20 men and women were arrested on July 30 for civil disobedience at the Finningley H-bomber base in Doncaster, England. Anti-nuclear demonstrators squatted outside base gates where they obstructed the departure of a British Railways truck, while a crowd of over 200 direct action supporters cheered, sang, and clapped approval. Participants were then picked up bodily by police and driven off to nearby police headquarters.

The magistrate, in passing sentence, said: "To a great extent you have our sympathy. It is your methods we dislike."

* * *

Dr. Thorsten Sellin, one of the world's recognized authorities on criminology and penology, was recently chosen president of the newly established Pennsylvania Council to Abolish the Penalty of Death. The group itself was successful last year in urging the UN General Assembly to authorize a study of capital punishment.

FOR members on the Council include FOR National Council member Wayne Dockhorn, former FOR Middle Atlantic Secretary Charles C. Walker, Mrs. John Arnett, Lucy Garner, and others.

* * *

The Department of Justice has dropped its case against Mrs. Mary Knowles of Plymouth Meeting, Pa., who in 1955 refused to tell the Senate Internal Security subcommittee where she had ever

(Continued on next page)

CHANGE OF ADDRESS: Please allow 4 weeks—supply both old and new address.

been a member of the Communist party. Mrs. Knowles, who was employed in the local Friends Meeting library, challenged the authority of the Senate subcommittee to inquire into her "thoughts and beliefs." During the height of the controversy, the meeting was put under strong pressure to dismiss her. Instead, it raised her salary as a symbol of its faith in her integrity.

* * *

Former FOR Southern Regional Secretary, James M. Lawson Jr. received the degree of Bachelor of Sacred Theology from the Boston University School of Theology last month. Lawson took up his studies at BUST in June, following his dismissal from Vanderbilt Divinity School in Nashville, Tenn., for his role in lunch counter sit-in demonstrations.

LIT NOTES

Worth Reading: In "The Case for Public Demonstration and Civil Disobedience" in the August, 1960, *Minutes* (magazine of Nationwide Insurance), Lincoln Adair describes recent anti-nuclear protest marches and picket lines protesting racial segregation and discusses their role in determining future social patterns.

* * *

"The Politics of Survival," a new 8-page pamphlet available from the American Friends Service Committee discusses the implications of present U.S. foreign policy and considers the bold changes in national commitment necessary "where not to change is to perish." Write: Peace Education Program, AFSC, 20 South 12th St. Philadelphia 7, Pa.

* * *

On Hand: "The Fate of A Child," a 17-minute 16 mm. sound film produced by the United Nations emphasizes the urgent need for world economic and social development, by focusing on the death of a child in a small Mexican community. Useful for discussion of U.S. foreign policy in relation to the wave of revolutionary change now sweeping two-thirds of the world. Single showing: $5. Full week: $15. Write: Fellowship Publications, Box 271, Nyack, N.Y.

Finance Secretary Seeks Aid

FOR Finance Secretary Raymond Paavo Arvio suggests to members and friends that they share with him any ideas they may have, however improbable they may seem, about sources of support, large and small, for the FOR's work on behalf of the message of love and nonviolence. Do you know foundation workers, executives, board members? Are there family funds and trusts we should know about? Are there key individuals we should know and visit? Write Raymond Paavo Arvio, FOR, Box 271, Nyack, New York.

Kneel-Ins: Racial Reconciliation Goes to Church

"The stigma of racial segregation will not be removed until it disappears from white Christian churches, where it began. It will not be removed merely by juxtaposing whites and Negroes in the same church building. Such a relationship may be enough to satisfy the elemental demands of justice at lunch counters and public beaches and in buses and libraries; it is not enough to meet Christ's claim that his disciples are one. To speak of that claim is to speak of a relationship in which affinity is far more important than proximity. Bread served at a lunch counter is one thing; bread shared in church is another."

--*Editorial in* The Christian Century, *Aug. 24, 1960*

I Taught in Arkansas

BY JEWELL KIRBY FITZHUGH

THE LAST PAPER had been checked; the last grades had been placed on the permanent record; the last books had been put into the shelves; and the last student had gone. For me it was the last day of school. Somehow I could not help feeling a deep loneliness and emptiness of spirit. How else does one give up a profession that has been part and parcel of her life? For thirty-four years I had taught in the rural and small town schools of my native state. Now it had to come to an end.

On this particular afternoon I was in no hurry to leave. Though it was spring, the finality of my going this time induced the melancholy feeling that often comes with late autumn—that last-leaf-on-the-tree sort of sadness that is not easily dispelled. As I sat at my desk in the attractive room that had come to be "home" to me and in which I had tried to teach the intricacies of English grammar, the techniques of composition, and the grandeur of literature to varied groups of high school students, mingled emotions filled my heart. Disconnected thoughts raced through the corridors of my tired brain.

"Good-by, 'Pinky' and 'Blueboy' (Loved paintings on the rear wall.)

"Why must you make a moral issue of what has happened?"

"What can I do with the years between now and retirement age?"

"The paper staff did an excellent job on the last issue of *Hi-Times*."

"I wish I had had more time for teaching literature."

"To thine own self be true. . . ?"

I cannot recall with clarity nor relate with coherence all the varied thoughts chasing each other along that clear afternoon in May, as I sat alone, reluctant to leave.

I could not help remembering the many failures I had made—the times I had blundered in trying to reach the heart of a child, the sense of inadequacy that had so often overpowered me, the dull approaches I had made when my purpose had been to kindle and inspire. Perhaps it was regret for these things and the thought that my opportunity for reaching young lives in the school room had passed that for a few moments gave me that feeling of desolation.

Then like a speck of light filtering through a crack in a dark room came the reflection that among the failures and unlovely things of the past were many beautiful memories I should always treasure and for which I am humbly grateful. These came, making me feel a comfortable warmth inside, yet at the same time filling me with a deep sense of humility.

Came memory of the time a twelve-year-old in a small country school said to me one day during recess, "Gee, I like school. We seem like one big family. I'm glad you let us do things this way."

I can see again eager faces of bright

but underprivileged children in an isolated district having their first Valentine party, with refreshments of heart-shaped cookies and hot chocolate, made on the bulging stove standing in the middle of the room.

Such little things made children happy then. It may have been a "party" at school; colorful cut-outs pinned on the white window curtains as the seasons changed; a kite-flying contest with home-made kites; a Saturday trip to "The Waterfall," with the youngest ones holding Teacher's hands all the way; or a Friday afternoon spelling match. Or perhaps it was only the interest Teacher showed on hearing of newborn kittens, a wobbly calf, or a baby brother.

A Teacher's Life

With tenderness came thoughts of the time when a kindly farmer, in the absence of a minister, asked a young school teacher to offer a prayer at the burial of a small child in a tiny graveyard a few hundred yards from the one-room school. It was my first year of teaching. Winters in the beautiful hill section of northwestern Arkansas then were more rigorous than now. Snow had lain on the ground for many days, and only a few of my fifty-three pupils were present. A neighbor woman knocked on the schoolhouse door and asked if I would "let out school and go to the burying" because in a time when influenza was raging there were so few of the neighbors gathered. Five or six men had dug the small grave. One of them had brought the tiny casket, five fatherless children, the sorrowing mother, and a neighbor woman in his farm wagon. We were warmed by the glow of a huge log heap. I do not remember the words of the prayer I falteringly offered, but I do know that sincere sympathy filled my heart for that mother and her children. I think all present felt the same.

In those days the country school teacher was expected to be "all things to all people." Sometimes she was called upon by some farmer to solve an arithmetic problem with which he needed help. But sometimes the problems were sent simply to see whether or not she could "work" them. For a teacher to fail to solve any such problem was to lose face. I struggled into the wee hours on some of them. And once I called for help outside the district. It was part of a teacher's life to sit up with the sick, go to the revivals, attend the box suppers and literary societies, extract teeth of the six-year olds, and teach a Sunday School class.

A well-established custom then was Teacher's overnight visit in each home. Since families were large, more often than not she shared sleeping quarters with the oldest daughter. Once at supper in a home where there was a bench full of children seated along one side of the long oilcloth covered table, the small boy at the far end became uneasy at the huge helpings those before him were taking. Finally he blurted out, "Ain't yuh goin' to save none fer me?"

Whether incidents were amusing or pathetic, whether the family was poor or "well-to-do," there was always genuine hospitality heartily extended. Surely every teacher making such visits gained much information that often helped her to deal sympathetically with many of the problems that arose.

One fall, when the weather was not too bad, I stayed at home, some four miles distant, and rode horseback to school. How well I remember riding down the tree-lined lane when the sassafras yellow, the blackgum scarlet, and the sumac red vied with the brown and reddish gold of the sweetgums. How pleasant it was to sniff the rich, sweet fragrance after an autumnal rain, then to ride "up hill and down dale" until I finally reached Union Ridge, on the crest of another hill.

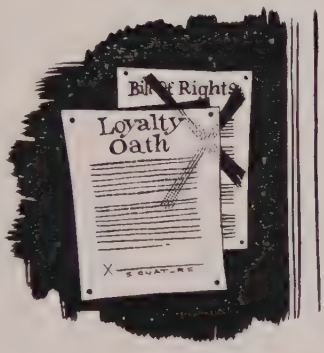
Now, my mind, tired as it was, rushed on to recall bits of my experience as a high school teacher. With a feeling of satisfaction I re-lived the time when a class composed largely of ninth-grade boys became so absorbed in *The Lady of the Lake* that, even after the lunch bell had rung, begged, "Please read just a little bit more." That, of course, was a tribute to Scott's mastery of romance. I had only introduced them to the witchery of it, but they had responded. That, I think, gave me a greater thrill than an increase in a perpetually small salary check.

I never shall forget the radiant face of a senior girl who stopped by my desk one

lay and said simply, "You have helped me o see the beauty of literature." A new ield had opened up for her, and in my ıeart I gave thanks.

Then there was the young man who ıad become principal of the high school n his home town a few years after he had been in my senior English class in that same high school. One summer when I happened to run across him at the State University, he said to me, "You know, I had never thought seriously about life until that year you discussed things with us in English class." Again, I knew that I was not entirely responsible for the young man's awakening, but I had been privileged to have a part in it.

Patsy . . . I shall always remember Patsy, who at first seemed so very unhappy. Often when checking her English themes, I would write little comments intended to show her my personal interest. On the day this motherless girl withdrew from school to accompany her father to a distant state, she sought me out privately and, smiling through shining eyes brimmed with tears, said, "I want to thank you for helping me and also for what you have done for my brother."



I squeezed Patsy's hand as I talked of the new school to which she would soon be going. Then I added softly, "God bless you, Patsy."

There was an answering pressure of her hand as she joyously looked into my face. "May He bless you, too," she said.

Such things have helped to compensate for some of the heartaches every teacher knows.

Now my thoughts returned to the school which I was leaving. For the last four years I had taught in one of the modern, rural high schools of the Pulaski County System, a few miles from Little Rock. Last year more than 250 displaced students from the then closed Central High in Little Rock were admitted to our school. For the most part these were serious-minded, studious young people who were anxious to go to school somewhere, since the opportunity of attending their own school was denied them. Of course, the increased enrollment meant more work for everybody, but there were few complaints.

I can look back upon my work here with a degree of satisfaction and mostly pleasant memories. When our school was recently admitted to the North Central Association, I looked with pride upon the accomplishments in each department. Also I looked forward with enthusiasm to continuing my work. Then the blow fell.

So as I sat at my desk, remembering, I breathed a prayer not only for forgiveness for my blunders and failures and one of thanksgiving for the happy memories, but also for moral courage to pursue the course I had chosen—a course that means I can no longer teach in the public schools of Arkansas under the existing laws.

A bill was passed by the General Assembly of the State of Arkansas, which in good conscience I cannot support, namely Act 10, which requires public school teachers to file affidavits listing all organizations to which they belong and to which they have contributed within the past five years. I am ashamed of none of the groups with which I am affiliated, a list of which I submitted to my principal. Rather in a spirit of humility I take a certain amount of pride in being privileged to serve through these religious, civic, charitable, and professional organizations.

I do not disagree with the principle set forth by a three-judge federal court in upholding Act 10:

"That the school authorities have the right and the duty to screen the officials, teachers, and employees as to their fitness to maintain the integrity of the schools as a part of ordered society can not be doubted. One's associates past and present, as well as one's conduct, may be properly considered in determining fitness and loyalty."

As I understand, however, school authorities have always possessed this right, and, on the whole, have exercised it with judgment. Why then, under the guise of pre-

serving the integrity of the schools, should such a law be passed at this time? To me the passage of Act 10 and a twin bill, Act 115 (later declared invalid) barring state employment to any member of the NAACP were simply political maneuvers aimed at a minority group. It seems that the politicians responsible for the passage of Act 10 made it unmistakably clear that the act would serve "to intimidate or harass any college professor or public school teacher" who disagreed with the prevailing view on matters concerning integration in the public schools. In my opinion such legislation is unjust and contrary to democratic American principles.

For several days before we were asked to file the affidavits, I searched my soul. From the beginning, I felt that I could not comply with an act which I believed to be rooted in injustice. Yet the temptation to rationalize was present.

"You have a good job, and you are needed here."

"You'll have to draw upon your savings, which you may need badly at a later date." (My husband, who passed away last year, had left a modest savings account, and our small farm home was clear.)

"How will you take care of your orphans?" (Referring to a Mexican and a Chinese child whose support I had pledged for the coming year.)

"You can do much good with thirty-six hundred dollars. There are some deserving nieces and nephews who need your help in going to college."

And so it went until I made a definite choice. Then my mind was at ease. Had I disobeyed the mandate of my own conscience, I could not have stood in good faith before boys and girls as a teacher.

In protesting, I am not presuming to pass judgment upon other teachers in Arkansas. There are sincere and dedicated persons who view the matter differently. And there is increasing need for a spirit of good will among those who hold differing opinions.

On the other hand, many teachers who did file the affidavits required by Act 10 did not actually approve the measure. While only a few of us throughout the state chose to forfeit our positions rather than comply, there were others who filed under protest.

Three of the young teachers in our school affixed written protests to their lists.

Another made this remark, "I'm wondering whether I should not have done the same thing."

"We all should have done what you did."

"It is a matter of expediency."

"I don't believe it is right, but I have to make a living."

These are representative of the remarks made by teachers who chose to express themselves in my presence.

Now it is September. School bells are ringing throughout the land. As the big yellow school bus passes my place, nostalgic memories come flooding back, and I wish for the opportunity of teaching again. But that door is closed for me here.

Someone has said, "When one door closes, another always opens." I have faith that this may be true for me, as well as for other teachers in Arkansas who have chosen the same course of action. Wherever there are people, there is opportunity for service. I believe we shall find it.

DISARMAMENT

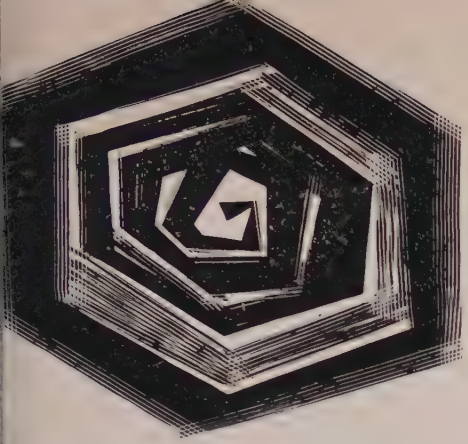
How do we make a rope of sand?
How do we build a house of clay?
The grains slip through the molding hand,
The rains dissolve our walls away.

Fire, only fire will fuse the sand,
Fire, only fire will bake the clay,
Then call down fire upon the land
To burn our helplessness away.

But dare we call down fire, this fire
That melts the soul in inmost part,
When the dark fuel its flames require
Is the proud will, the fearful heart?

Called down or not, the fire will fall,
Fire that destroys, or fire that heals.
Ours is the choice on which to call,
Our choice of fire the future seals.

—Kenneth Boulding



The "New Left" Gropes for Meaning

AN ARTICLE-REVIEW
BY SIDNEY LENS

ONVICTION, edited by Norman MacKenzie. onthly Review Press, New York. 233 pp., .

N THIS AGE of statisticized self-delusion, complacency has become the norm. The atistics of greatness, which roll off news- iper pages in breath-taking monotony, sure us that profits this year were the ighest in history, wages reached another ak, steel production, gross national roduct—almost everything about our onomy has zoomed to a new zenith. De- ressions are no longer possible—at least n the 1929 order—and the Welfare State as conquered poverty. Even socialism, herefore, becomes irrelevant.

In one form or another this is the ra- tonale for today's lack of conviction. If ien no longer find causes for which they in sacrifice it is because society has *chieved* its goals. What more can we ex- ect, except an improved version of what 've already have?

Twelve British socialists, all under forty, uncture deep holes in this curtain of pathy. All concede that the old goals of ocialism, such as nationalization of indus- ry, may no longer be pivotal or even propos. But the elevation of man to his ull creative stature, far from being chieved, is perhaps further removed than ver before.

Norman MacKenzie, an editor for the *New Statesman,* begins the discussion with s brilliant a piece of prose as one will ind anywhere. We live, he says, in a Stale- nate State that "has made Tories the re- uctant servants of the Welfare Society, nd Socialists into pillars of the Establish- nent. It is in many ways more moral, more humane, than any society we have known, and yet it has made too many of us morally indifferent."

How true! The crimes of Hiroshima lie indifferently on the western conscience. The century of imperialism is dismissed as a necessary transition. Today's citizen, drowning in an unequal but comparative affluence, grasps for straws no firmer than the escapism of bowling, beer and television. For the rest he is morally indifferent.

It is that indifference that must be pierced. It must be pierced, first of all, by posing the problem, analyzing it, and delineating the new vision.

Peter Shore disparages the notion that we are achieving "equality." He finds little of it in "the distribution of incomes, wealth and opportunities and none at all in the distribution of power." Above all there is no "significant shift in the values of our society—no decline in acquisitiveness, no increase in the awareness that we are involved in and must help each other."

Peace the Top Priority

People are the overriding theme of this penetrating book. Nigel Calder lists the "world priorities" thus:

Staying alive.
Conserving and enlarging our resources.
Sharing knowledge and resources throughout the world.
Making the most of scientific discovery.
Injecting reason into human affairs.
Exploring outer space.

In fresh formulation Calder here propounds a program of anti-militarism, world

federation, and humanism. Technological advance—exploring outer space—is correctly put at the bottom.

Probably the most incisive essay in *Conviction* is the one by Mervyn Jones, a writer for the Bevanite *Tribune*. As might be expected, peace is the major concern of all twelve writers. But Jones puts the problem into more cogent perspective than anything we have yet done in the United States:

"To be a Socialist today one must be a pacifist, in the broad sense—one must be in total opposition to the beastliness that has absorbed what was once called war. And to be an effective pacifist one must be a Socialist, for one must seek to render powerless all those persons and institutions which hold for us no other promise than death."

The socialist movement these last two generations has forgotten its original humanism and anti-militarism. The pacifist movement, groping for true Gandhism, has not yet found its social moorings. That is more true in the United States than in Britain, but pertinent in both places.

Many democratic socialists, recoiling from Stalinism, are willing to accept western militarism as the lesser evil. Many pacifists, dedicated to disarmament, do n yet fully correlate military tensions to t social ills from which they spring—colo ialism, the exploitation of labor, the e influences of a power elite, the inequital distribution of wealth. I suspect there a still some pacifists who see nothing wro in paying $1 an hour wages to their e ployees; who are critical of social refor whose vistas are limited to the narrow p view of disarmament. Jones understan well that even if nations disarm they w again re-arm if the social imbalances th cause war and revolution continue.

Jones' observation, I feel, offers the k to a revised dedication. Peace is inseparal from humanism; and humanism ins arable from social change. Whether t term socialism has the desired connotati the gap between pacifism and social chan must be bridged.

Seldom in man's ascent to the bet life has it become so difficult for the in vidual to find meaning to his life. T twelve authors of *Conviction* are gropi for the answer to this pivotal problem, a they are groping with better radar th we in America have done so far.

They deserve a salute . . . for their c viction.

A PRAYER OF THE HOLY SPIRIT

O come, O Holy Spirit, come!
Come as holy fire and burn in us,
Come as holy wind and cleanse us,
Come as holy light and lead us,
Come as holy truth and teach us.

Come as holy forgiveness and free us,
Come as holy love and enfold us,
Come as holy power and enable us,
Come as holy life and dwell in us.

Convict us,
Convert us,
Consecrate us, until we are wholly Thine
For Thy using, through Jesus Christ our Lord.
Amen.

—adapted from an ancient prayer by Dr. Charles Francis Whiston.

potpourri

High School Students Act for Peace

CONTRARY TO THE attitude of many their elders, it seems as if a growing rcentage of the present generation of gh school students are deeply concerned out the state of the nation and of the rld. There is fear, fear of THE END, d theirs is not the concern that someone e be responsible for the beginning of e end. There is concern, too, for civil d social liberties, and they are not happy see these eroded away, be it in the name civil defense, security or deterrence, be by local school board, their parents, or e Federal Government and its agencies. id while there is despair, at times, that ything can be done to alter the present ift to "deterrent annihilation," there is so an eagerness to search for real solu- ons to the conflicts facing life on the cal, national, and international level. here is a new interest in nonviolent re- stance and in protest, in pacifism and in e way of reconciliation.

These are the impressions I had after o months of experimental work with gh school students along the western nks of the Hudson River. The work it- lf, initiated in response to student monstrations of concern and protest, has volved a lot of letter writing, some speak- g, some showing of films, some distribu- on of peace literature, and a great deal informal discussion. I have coordinated is process as a Volunteer for Peace on ie staff of the Fellowship of Reconcilia- on, between semesters at Union The- logical Seminary where I am preparing or the ministry of the United Presbyterian hurch, U.S.A.

Due to circumstances, my most intense ork has been done with a group of high hool students in and around Haverstraw, ew York, who earlier in the year had or- anized themselves into a Student Peace nion without, incidentally, any outside elp. The policy of the group was to work ith organizations already active in the ield of civil rights and in the peace move- nent, such as the NAACP, SANE, and the OR. During the year it encountered con- iderable resistance from the school author- ities in Haverstraw, and from parents, in some of its purely informational activity. Before the end of the school year, at the request of the group's organizer, Ronnie Maduro, an afternoon was given over by seven of the Student Peace Union's 22 members to distributing leaflets around the town. One of the students, as he left the school, reported that the teachers and administration were peering out the windows of the school saying, "What can we do? They are not on school property." Shortly after this, a patrolman appeared and asked whether we had a permit. I referred him to the police chief, with whom I had earlier spent half an hour, and he found that not only was a permit not required, but that the chief knew all about what was going on. We did not see the patrolman again.

The group has continued to meet at least once a week through the summer, seeing short films and holding discussions on various aspects of politics, international affairs, religion, and the way of love. Late in July leaflets were again distributed around the town by Ronnie Maduro, Louise Reiter, Jack Calhoun, and myself, though this time the emphasis turned out to be on discussion with local residents. Contrary to the opinion of many, myself included, it seemed to be the women who were most interested in making their opinions known and who were most reluctant to hear what anyone else had to say. They, too, were the ones to remark most often: "Commies!" Trouble was, however, that the students who were distributing the leaflets were known to all, and obviously were nowhere near having even a tint of pink.

On the other hand, I had several good conversations with older men, and I found that they were better informed than the women and were open to new ideas, even if they were already convinced that they were right. In the course of one conversation a man said, "Why, look, we've always treated everyone fairly; we've never started anything."

He was corrected by one of his friends,

who pointed out that the American Indians had not gotten such a good deal from the white man, and that it wasn't the British who started the Revolution. Another man said that when his neighbor came over to borrow something from him, and he didn't give it to him, the neighbor would probably steal what he needed at first opportunity. Before I could get another word in, another man said, "I'd probably ask the neighbor in and ask what he needed, instead of turning him away."

There was nothing for me to add, and for the rest of the conversation I just asked a question every so often to keep things going.

Perhaps a valuable insight into the thoughts of many other older citizens was revealed in the remarks of a man who had a son serving aboard a nuclear submarine. He showed no liking for his son's "service," but could only say, "Well, if that is the way modern wars have to be fought, then I guess it's necessary to have such arms. We can't go back to the bow and arrow."

One of the projects undertaken by the Haverstraw Student Peace Union was the clearing of a trash-laden vacant lot in the middle of town. The purpose of this project was not only to perform a service to the town, but to demonstrate that those "working for peace" were willing to literally work for it, and were also ready and willing to stand up for what they believed, in spite of opposition. But the response to this project was a surprise to all concerned. We began on a Monday evening, and some progress was made in the clearing of the lot, attracting much curiosity from passers-by, including the Town Supervisor. When we next saw the lot on the following Friday, however, it had been completely cleaned up, with every bit of rubbish removed. It is interesting to speculate on the thinking that inspired the town to clean up a piece of land which had been derelict for several years, and to do so in such short order. Their efforts have not gone without appreciation, however.

So many of today's students have not given any serious thought to politics and peace, international affairs and the meaning of their own individual lives. It is tremendously exciting to see them come alive when they find that there are peop who really want to know what concer and interests them, and that others sha the thoughts which they have never dar express or even think for fear of bei laughed at. At a YWCA Y-Teen confe ence, for instance, an attractive 14-year-o girl saw a piece of FOR literature with t word "pacifist" in the title and asked n what it meant. We sat down and talk for a half hour or so. Tanya found that s could ask questions and get serious answe that she could express her feelings abo things and people and be met with und standing and a shared concern. Tanya not likely to be left much time to thin what with the attentions that come to pretty teen-ager. Will she forget our ta Will she forget the experience of meeti just one other person who feels that w is wrong and that murder by any name a crime? Chances are that she will, ofte but also that she will take heart wh those about her talk of "nuclear det rence," knowing that there are others the world who share her love for life a her concern for mankind.

The work I did this summer with hig school students is an infinitesimal fracti of the work that needs to be done if th country is to raise up responsible, i formed, loving citizens of the world. Th work has not been an effort to indoctrina students in pacifism, in spite of what som parents, who have never inquired after th facts, might maintain. It has been an a tempt to break free from complacen and fatalism and to search with them f *real solutions* to the conflicts which bes human life.

In a discussion one evening the studen were asked: "What do you want for yo children?"

The answer was not the usually e pected "Security," but such words a "Music," "Peace," "A chance to live cre tive lives." Each expressed, in his ow words, the desire that his children migh be able to live creative lives *in communio with* their fellow man, free from the threa and deadening fear of instant annihilatio Tanya's remark gives the answer as to th need of the young people in this country "You really *do* care what *I* think."

—Brewster Knee

Evangelize the Vet

MUCH PACIFIST THOUGHT and writing directed to picked groups of people, i.e. h school boys, women, convinced paci-s. I believe that more attention should given to spreading the gospel of love ong men who were once in the armed ces.

Many of the arguments pacifists use out army life the veteran knows, for he s had firsthand experience. He knows ch better than the great majority of cifists the effect of military life on body d conscience. Now I am not naively ting that we should march up to the arest American Legion Hall and begin ssing out FOR membership blanks. t I am convinced that within the list of erans of the non-Legion type there are uggling minds which might be receptive our ideas. There is much deep and ious thinking about war and morals on e part of some service men who have ver really heard of pacifism. However, ually their buddies are of little help in ding answers and the chaplains talk of fferent matters.

The first few weeks of military training e pathetic for some young men and boys. ithin a few days some realize that mili-ry service is against their conscience and ey try turning to the company com-ander and the chaplain.

"You are against killing?"

"Are you against police?"

"How would you administer justice?"

"Have you no honor?"

"You have to learn to be a man now."

"What would you do if someone attacks our mother?"

"What would you do if. . . ?"

In most cases the poor young man is eside himself with shame and grief. mewhere in the back of his mind, killing en is wrong. But he knows no answers, nows no questions in retort, feels alone, ifferent, bewildered, lost. Most often this oy is a faithful church member; how-ver, his church did not teach the faith. What a pathetic sight, these raw recruits ho are lost.

The last few weeks of military service, hen the boys are waiting to get out is a reat time of recalling and telling. Some ill be among the most disillusioned eople you would care to hear. The resentment which has welled up inside them seems to come out. They remember. Even the peacetime army boys remember.

Some say to each other, "Let us try to remember how it really was. How the officer kicked the boy who fell to the ground from ranks with an attack of appendicitis. How we were turned into snarling bears and tigers as we were taught to disembowel our fellowmen on the bayonet course. Some of our buddies will forget and in the course of years military memories will wax more and more golden and they will wave the flag and march on July 4th. But let us remember how it really was."

Most who talk like this leave the service and remember, but few become pacifists for they have never heard. They feel alone, surprised when they find another who questions the military system.

These men comprise a group pacifists would do well to think more about. When we know of young people (men and women) who have just separated from the armed services, we should talk to them, find out how they feel about war, morals, love, peace.

You might be surprised. You might be talking to a pacifist in the making. He may have been under military discipline and teaching for a number of years, so do not be discouraged if he does not understand your pacifist vocabulary. Just be pleased if he shows the least bit of interest. You have a lot of educating to do.

—GEORGE J. FALLON

AIDS FOR PEACE ACTION

The Fellowship's Volunteers for Peace Program is well under way. Sixteen field workers—their names are listed on the inside back cover of this issue—are engaged in the kinds of activities that Brewster Kneen reports on pages 27-28. If you can devote an hour or more per week to voluntary peace work, contact the FOR Field Worker in your area—or write directly to the Rev. Glenn E. Smiley, Associate Secretary, The Fellowship of Reconciliation, Box 271, Nyack, N. Y.

BOOKS

A Heroic Spirit

THE MAGNOLIA JUNGLE by P. D. East. Simon & Schuster 1960. 243 pp., $3.95.

P. D. East is the remarkable editor of a small newspaper in Mississippi. When the Supreme Court issued its decision against segregation in the Southern schools, on May 17, 1954, *The Petal Paper* took its stand: for the law of the land, for the Constitution of the United States, and for human decency. "P.D." was no outrageous crank or fanatic; he was a home-town boy from the deepest part of the deep South, from the poorest section of what is called the "poor whites." That is the primary virtue of his present autobiography—that it traces in detail, with unusual honesty and a kind of marvelous humor, the evolution of an indigenous and heroic Southern rebel.

We have heard so much of the other "Southern rebels"! It is good to find one cast not in the mold of Senator Eastland but of Tom Paine, maybe, plus a liberal mixture of Mark Twain. The childhood scenes in *The Magnolia Jungle* are touching, illuminating and funny. East came out of the logging country; another barefoot boy who struggled for his education, and yet from the very first he had doubts about the prevailing ideas of the backwoods. One of his earliest memories was that of a Negro child burned to death in a poverty-ridden shack—the odor of burned flesh has lingered in his mind, he says, for over thirty years.

His mother was respectable and religious —a "good woman" who had all of the conventional prejudices. His father, a logger and logging contractor, who barely speaks a dozen words in the present chronicle, was a dominant influence o East's early life. But East gradually di covered he was an adopted child; the my terious shame of his "illegitimacy," th search for his true parents, is a hauntin theme in *The Magnolia Jungle*. Mea while, he went to work in the gener store of Jesse Wild, and this Snopesi episode is a great piece of folk humo that William Faulkner could hardly hav outdone. Even then, P. D. East was singular boy who had firm convictions social justice. While his avaricious, cru and cunning boss cheated all his custome the youthful assistant had his own way adjusting the accounts.

His early hero was Abraham Lincol and it took him five years to get throu high school. He registered in the Pea River Junior College in Poplarsville, h trouble with ROTC, published a mim graphed account of his disagreements wi the military, and was expelled. After somewhat similar experience in the arm he edited two labor union newspapers, an started his own newspaper in Petal, ne Hattiesburg, Mississippi. He was then wor ing about sixteen hours a day, and maki around $12,000 a year—big money f those parts. He had two cars and a ne house. He was a successful and respectab citizen after all those years of arduous an heart-breaking struggle to rise out of th lower depths.

What happened then, you should rea about in P. D. East's own inimitable wa The second half of his book is the accou of East's "fall from grace" (Mississipp style) and the making of a heroic spirit. self-proclaimed "atheist" who wrestles dai with the angel of the Lord; an indomitab fighter who is a confirmed pacifist; a fea less defender of civil rights who claims on that the Negro is a human being, P. D favorite weapon against the rising tide

AMONG OUR BOOK REVIEWERS. Maxwell Geismar has a considerable reputation as an essayist and literary critic. He is the author of a series of books, from **Writers in Crisis** (1942) to **American Moderns** (1958), which trace the history of American literature during the last hundred years. **John M. Swomley Jr.** begins his first semester this fall as associate professor of Christian social ethics at the new National Methodist Theological Seminary in Kansas City, Mo. Winding up an illustrious 21-year career with the Fellowship of Reconciliation, he left behind an impressive array of reviews that illustrate the scope of his knowledge and the range of his concerns. We welcome Dr. Swomley, along with James M. Lawson Jr., to the roster of Editorial Contributors listed on our masthead, and look forward to the frequent appearance of his name in these pages too.

thern bigotry is that of satire and irony. best editorials and his famous "adtisements" are now part of our cultural itage. We are lucky to have such a onicle as *The Magnolia Jungle* in this cial period of our history. All I can add hat if you buy the book as an act of blic spirit, you will enjoy it as a personal perience. Among other things, P. D. East born writer. —MAXWELL GEISMAR

Peace By Negotiation

E PREREQUISITES FOR PEACE by Norman omas. Norton 1959. 189 pp., $2.95.

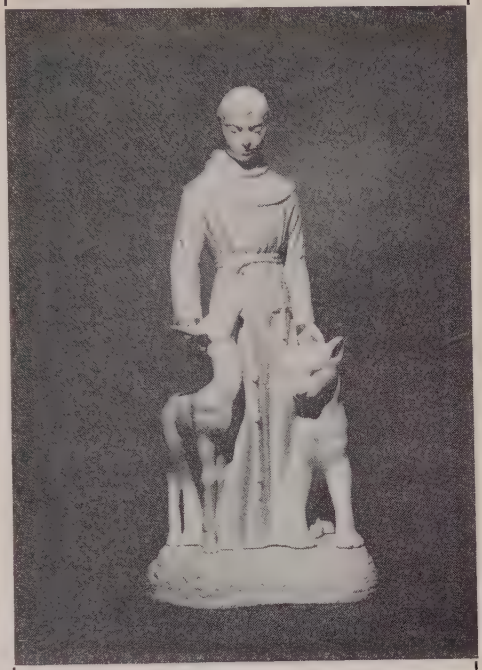
A great virtue in all of Norman Thomas' iting is the clear and interesting style h which he reduces difficult national and ernational problems to understandable pportions. This book, which is no excepn, recommends disarmament down to inal police levels as an answer to the ns race, and disengagement in Central rope, the Far East and Near East as swers to the specific tensions between United States and the major Commut powers. All of these proposals are dendent on negotiation with the Soviet nion and China.

Before suggesting specific agreements th Communist powers, Thomas deals th the idea that "You Can't Trust Rus-" and follows it with a chapter that asks, ut Can We Trust Ourselves?" In these apters he concludes that it is worth try-g to negotiate with the Russians. He tes also that there are many vested inrests in the United States who don't nt even to try to negotiate seriously.

In several places Thomas overstates his se. He writes that "The Soviet Union one gained territory in and through orld War II" and evidently dismisses the rmer enemy territory under United ates control as a fiction. He insists that alin "initiated the cold war" and evintly overlooks the British-American are in the responsibility for the postwar valry. He also looks upon the Baruch roposal for international control of omic energy as a "great credit" to the nited States instead of as a proposal so early unfavorable to Russia that it was bviously impossible for her to accept it. He believes NATO has no sound basis r continuance yet feels "it should not now be incontinently abandoned." In short, he believes NATO was a genuine response to Communist aggression in Europe and that precipitate withdrawal of American troops from Europe after World War II left the Eastern European satellite states in Stalin's grasp. These states were, of course, already in Stalin's grasp, unless Norman Thomas feels American troops should have wrested them from Communist control. Moreover, the record of history (including the observations of George Kennan and others) shows no evidence of Russian military intent to move west nor of NATO's deterrent value.

One can disagree with these interpretations without questioning the basic analy-

A PRAYER FOR OUR TIME



This card, which made its bow in the Christmas season last year, is suitable for all occasions. Outside: photo of Janice Pettee's statuette of St. Francis of Assisi. Inside: the pacifist saint's memorable prayer that begins, "Lord, make me a channel of your peace."

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sis of the difficulties of dealing with totalitarian nations. Evidently Norman Thomas does not place too much weight on the past and present difficulties, for his recommendations are all based on the possibility of achieving agreements that will be to the mutual interest of both power blocs. These agreements are possible, he feels, chiefly because of the destructiveness of nuclear war and the death of Stalin.

All in all, this is a very useful book for those who want to understand what is involved in disarmament and disengagement. —JOHN M. SWOMLEY JR.

Patriotism vs. Jingoism

PRIDE OF STATE by Joseph P. Morray. Beacon 1959. 173 pp., $4.

This is more than a book about patriotism. The author, Joseph Morray, in a spirit of revolt against the mood and action of conformity and apprehension which has swept America in recent years writes about the higher patriotism which impels men to obey conscience when it conflicts with government mandate or public whim. Morray is a graduate of the Naval Academy at Annapolis and Harvard Law School. He served in Intelligence during World War II and Korea and then as Naval attaché in Spain. He is now visiting Professor of Law at the University of California of Berkeley.

"Love for one's country is of no practical consequence unless it means love for one's countrymen." This love, he indicates, must include communists as well as capitalists and asserts that "they are to be regarded as ends and not as means."

Communists are "potential patriots" and of real value to our society, Morray writes. "If it is true that the general welfare is closely related to conditions of equality, economic as well as political and social, the ranks of the underprivileged are the more likely place to find patriots than the classes where jealousy for a comfortable status quo resists leveling. But no generalization can be made by class or party. A rich man can be a patriot. A champion of the underdog can be an ambitious fraud. Each individual must be measured on his own account against the standards of devotion, courage and understanding. The generalization that can be made is that gadflies, including the Communists, are useful to any society.

Morray shows a sympathetic understanding of pacifism as patriotism but affirms his own belief in armed national defense.

In many respects this is a remarkable book not only because of its unorthodox and therefore stimulating views about communists but also because of its discussion of capitalism, containment, the United Nations and world community, all in the context of patriotism.—JOHN M. SWOMLEY JR.

Pragmatism With Piety

THE STRUCTURE OF CHRISTIAN ETHICS by Joseph Sittler. Louisiana State University Press 1958. 88 pp., $2.50.

This is a series of lectures delivered at Rice Institute. In these lectures Sittler indicates that Christian Ethics cannot be put into principles but is real only in terms of a "pattern of response" to the God of the Bible. It is not possible for the Christian to understand fully what God as love requires of men in human relationships. Love as revealed in Jesus "begets a response, the proper name for which is not love but faith."

In practice this faith commits us to "seek limited objectives," to "accept ambiguity without lassitude and seek justice without identifying justice and love." Sittler clearly lays a groundwork for doing evil, albeit lesser evils, and for a non-pacifist approach to war. But instead of coming to grips with war or other great forms of injustice, he poses trite alternatives within the context of participation in war. Christian Ethics to Sittler does not necessarily involve a different mode of action or different action from those of non-Christians provided that the Christian does what he does in "an acknowledgment of deeper piety that no decision fulfils the will of God or releases man from that relation to God which dares to live only by the daily forgiveness of sins."

The book is largely a restatement of the familiar ethic which accents the difficulty of seeking to meet the needs of the world in the spirit of love.

—JOHN M. SWOMLEY JR.

From Nazi Prisons

YING WE LIVE ed. by Helmut Gollwitzer, äthe Kuhn, Reinhold Schneider. Fontana London) 1958. 253 pp., 30c.

This paperback book is filled with letters ritten by fifty-four prisoners of the Nazis ortly before their execution. They are tters of faith and yet reveal all the per- nal human love for those to whom they rite. This little volume not only recalls vidly the days of Nazi torture but recap- ures the meaning of death as a testimony the human conscience. Two of those hose letters are in the book, Hermann öhr and Max Joseph Metzger, were mem- ers of the German Fellowship of Recon- liation. —JOHN M. SWOMLEY JR.

Christianity in a Revolutionary Age

UTSIDE THE CAMP by Charles C. West. Doubleday 1959. 168 pp., $3.

This is a brilliantly written and highly nteresting interpretation of the meaning Christianity in a revolutionary world. harles West was caught in China when ne Communist revolution succeeded. He now assistant director of the Ecumenical nstitute of the World Council of Churches n Switzerland.

West deals with the content of Christian elief and applies it ably to many issues ich as conformity, the nuclear weapon, ommunism. He asks "what confidence can e have in a world which is thus fever- hly engaged in digging its own grave?" ut he relates all such social and psycho- gical problems to the deeper one of ith. We are unwilling to ask "What ust we do to be saved?" Rather, he as- rts, we are asking, "How can what we re now doing, or at least a corrected form f it, be saved?"

Written for college students, this is im- ortant reading for persons of any age.

—JOHN M. SWOMLEY JR.

Briefly Noted

A Church, a School by Ralph McGill Abingdon 1959. 92 pp., $2) is a selection f columns from the Atlanta *Constitution*

PENDLE HILL RETREATS FOR 1960-61

21-23 October	Douglas V. Steere
11-13 November	Rachel Cadbury
9-11 December	Douglas V. Steere
27-29 January	Elizabeth G. Vining
17-19 February	Douglas V. Steere
5-7 March	Marjorie Wilkinson
21-22 April	Calvin Keene
12-14 May	Douglas V. Steere

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by its managing editor. The title is that of an editorial on the dynamiting of a Jewish temple in Atlanta and of the newly integrated high school in Clinton, Tennessee. Unfortunately the editorials included here are not dated. The book cannot be applauded as evidence of a radical commitment to brotherhood. Yet in the context in which it appears it has very real, if lesser, merits. Its viewpoint is easily summarized in three of the chapter headings: "Reverence for the Law," "Violence Destroys Its Own Purposes," "We Now Trust Our Youth." This is a book to help reconstruct the unreconstructed white Southerner.

One of the disturbing facts of our time is the technology that makes it possible for a man in an airplane to kill thousands of people without having to confront each one individually as a person. In *The Alienation of Modern Man* (Monthly Review Press 1959. 189 pp., $4.), social scientist Fritz Pappenheim argues that it is not technology itself that causes war and other manifestations of human estrangement, but an increasing loss of community brought about largely by the nature of our economic order, which regards not only goods but workers, salesmen, employers and consumers as commodities instead of persons. In the course of his far from exhaustive study, he introduces the reader to the writings of the neglected German sociologist Ferdinand Tönnies and to a likewise little-known humane side of Karl Marx, drawing upon many source materials that remain unavailable in English. Unfortunate-

ly, as is so often the case, Pappenheim diagnoses at great length without offering very much of a solution at the end. —W. R. M.

pamphlet reviews

• *The Ecumenical Movement and the Faithful Church* by John Howard Yoder. 43 pp., 50¢. Order from: Herald Press, Scottdale, Pa.

Although written primarily for a Mennonite readership, this pamphlet has much to say both to members of the other historic peace churches and to those of us who seek, within non-pacifist denominations, to build a church that is faithful to the nonviolent spirit of love upon which the ancient Apostolic church was founded. Dr. Yoder surveys the many efforts that have been made (including those of the International FOR) toward a Christianity surmounting creedal and national boundaries and delves ably into the New Testament and early Anabaptist history for guidance through the dilemma of catch-all unity versus narrow exclusiveness. Anyone who is seriously interested in the ecumenical movement will find his thinking clarified and deepened by the reading of this brief study.

• *A Way Forward.* 8 pp., 10¢. Order from: Socialist Party, 303 Fourth Ave., New York 10, N. Y.

• *Socialist Platform 1960.* 21 pp., 15¢. Address as above.

For the first time in its history, the Socialist Party is not backing a presidential candidate for election. That it is not retreating from the political arena, however, is made evident in these new pamphlets. *A Way Forward* argues cogently (and with refreshing lack of yesterday's leftist jargon) for the building of a new American left within the liberal wing of the Democratic Party, which, the SP argues, should jettison its Dixiecrat and big-city-machine segments and seek support from labor, the Negro and other groups with a stake in progress. *Socialist Platform 1960* likewise espouses realignment, and consists of a statement of political aims that can serve as a yardstick for the platforms of the major parties and their candidates. Among other things, the *Platform* calls upon the U.S. to cease nuclear weapons production and testing unilaterally if the Geneva negotiations break down, and it sets as its avowed aim "universal and total" disarmament together with disengagement and expanded nonmilitary foreign aid.

Throughout both pamphlets there is evidence of a rethinking of traditional socialist concepts that bears a resemblance to the "new left" that has been on the move in England. To judge by its reference to "nonviolent mass action for civil rights," as well as its demand for "immediate abolition" of conscription and compulsory ROTC, this "new socialism" owes at least something to the growing number of young pacifists in the party.

• *The Tragedy of Apartheid* by Mary Benson. 8 pp., 10¢. Order from: American Committee on Africa, 4 West 40th St., New York, N.Y.

Published in London by Christian Action, this pamphlet tersely describes some of the tragic consequences of South Africa's insane policy of rigid racial segregation. Daily life in that country, for example, white accident victims suffer pain or needless death because black ambulance drivers are prevented from giving first aid: the victim must wait for *white* treatment! A brief summary is given of the major *apartheid* laws, and of the Treason Trials in which the government has tried to silence the leading critics of its abominable racist policies. An all but hopeless situation confronts that "rich and lovely country"; there are a few courageous voices of Christian protest there, and they need as much help as we are able to give who live outside the atmosphere of tension and fear in which they stand.

• *Getting Rid of War* by A. J. Muste. 12 pp., 10¢. Order from: *Liberation,* 110 Christopher St., New York 14, N. Y.

This is the text of the speech made by FOR Secretary Emeritus A. J. Muste upon receiving the 1958 Peace Award of the War Resisters League. The theme is the characteristic Mustean emphasis on the necessity of individual commitment in relation to social issues. Drawing resourcefully from recent writings of George Kennan and C. Wright Mills, he presents the nuclear arms race as an occasion for "each human being to take at least his own fate in his own hands" and, in Mills' phrase, become "conscientious objectors in the cold war."

PRESCRIPTION FOR SURVIVAL
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DARE WE DISARM?

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE 8)

dangers necessitate. If the governments do not devote themselves to keeping their populations ignorant and developing palpably dishonest schemes of civil defense, public opinion would soon become quite different from what it is. There is much

eason to hope that the governments of oth East and West are learning wisdom, nd that something like Mr. Khrushchev's roposal will be agreed to.

It would be a mistake, however, to think hat the problems raised by nuclear weapns can be solved by disarmament alone. There must also be an agreed method of ettling international disputes by means f an agreed international authority. Until his is done, wars will still be possible and, prolonged, they will lead to the renewed anufacture of nuclear weapons.

So long as war remains possible, the uclear danger will remain, and the future f our species will be at the mercy of owerful fanatics. If the grandchildren of he present generation are to live to maurity, the problem of the permanent preention of war will have to be solved. The roblem is difficult and its solution requires ew ways of thinking.

What is needed is the habit of dwelling pon mankind as a whole, rather than pon this or that section, and a realization f the fact that the common interests of ur species far outweigh the separate inerests of this or that group. Many may ave difficulty in acquiring this new outook, but the urgency is such that perhaps ope is not wholly Utopian.

THE NEW PACIFISM

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE 14)

Once all the illusions about the CBR veapons have been destroyed, the tremenlous difference will become apparent beween these weapons and methods of warare used in previous centuries; and it will e obvious that they exceed the limits within which the Church has hitherto been ble to regard military service as compatible with the will of God. At a time when these weapons have become the conrolling factor in international politics, ery grave problems clearly confront the olitician (i.e., all of us whose earthly destiny is affected by politics).

We live in a period when a number of hings have to be done at once: atomic war must be avoided; atomic weapons must be abolished by international agreement; we must stop using the other "conventional" modern weapons (which are already terrible enough); but at the same time we must avoid falling victims to communist (or any other) dictatorship.

Because the present situation is extremely mobile, and because the urgent task confronting us is to establish a stable co-existence between East and West, Christians must face the question as to what they will do when they have to make their ultimate decisions; they must say quite openly that in such a case they cannot participate, that if an atomic war should break out they would only take up arms for police purposes, i.e. to protect human life from violence and oppression in the resulting chaos. In this way they will not allow themselves to be led astray by political interests and arguments. They will hold firm to the conviction that a policy which does not break God's commandments is bound to be the better policy in the long run. Fear of Bolshevism must not drive us to resort to methods which do us more harm (both spiritually and physically) than any dictatorship could. They are the methods of a desperate practical godlessness. No one who has heard of the reality of God through the Gospel can compromise with them. Survival at all costs is a wickedly pagan policy. A Christian Church which refuses to participate in it, and which remembers its own mission of peace in the world, will inspire fresh confidence and be a healing influence in a sick world menaced with disaster.

Our analysis of the transformation in warfare brought about by the new weapons can lead us to only one conclusion: there must never be an atomic war, and that there never *will* be an atomic war as far as it depends on us Christians, on Christian politicians, on you and me. "You and I will not have anything to do with these inventions of the devil"—that is the Christian message which the pastor must pass on to his congregation—"We shall not participate, even in case of reprisals." Christians cannot participate, because the only circumstance in which it ever was permissible for them to think of taking up arms was in order to defend justice. But when the authorities urge a Christian to participate in these preparations for universal massacre, there is only one answer he can give: *"si omnes, ego non"* ("even if everyone else consents, I refuse!").

LETTERS

It is **Fellowship's** policy to print all letters of general interest to its readers, within reasonable limits of space, whether they agree with **Fellowship's** viewpoint or not. You can help to keep this column a free forum by limiting your letters to 200 words.

Dear Editors:

I've been greatly heartened by all the FOR has been doing to meet in new ways the crises and at the same time to retain the continuity of its peace testimony.

It warmed my heart to read in the July 1 FELLOWSHIP the editorial comment on Jane Addams. As a member both of the FOR and the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom I greatly appreciate the warmth of comradeship which your words conveyed. They will give all of us courage in the days ahead.

LUCY PERKINS CARNER
Philadelphia, Penna.

The New Gregg

Dear Editors:

Some pacifists may have assumed that Gregg's new edition of *The Power of Nonviolence* just has some new footnotes and some up-dated paragraphs added to the two earlier editions. That's a mistaken assumption. This new edition is so fresh, so thorough and so apt in its approach that it should be read by every pacifist. Many of us are in debt to Richard Gregg for his contribution to our thinking. He has now increased our indebtedness.

CHARLES C. WALKER
Cheyney, Penna.

Goodbye, World

Dear Editors:

Now that we are going to slam that big bully, Russia, up against a wall and hold our clenched fist before his face—purely to preserve the peace of the world against his aggressive attentions, of course—where do we go from here? Citizenship renunciation, anyone? Surely there has been no better reason for such an act since the days right after World War II.

I have been walking the streets this past week as if I had already said goodbye to this world. It is a peculiar feeling, especially since everyone else seems unmoved and unsuspecting. And yet, when I go, a thousand million people will go with me. It is indeed a sobering reflection.

DONALD J. LEIFFER
Santa Monica, California

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THAT MEN MAY LIVE ... in peace together

FELLOWSHIP is published by the Fellowship of Reconciliation, a religious organization based on the belief that love, such as that seen pre-eminently in Jesus, must serve as the true guide of personal conduct under all circumstances. Members of the FOR seek to demonstrate this love as the effective force for overcoming evil and transforming society into a creative fellowship. Although members do not bind themselves to an exact form of words,

- They refuse to participate in any war or to sanction military preparations; they work to abolish war and to foster good will among nations, races, and classes;
- They strive to build a social order which will suffer no individual or group to be exploited for the profit or pleasure of another, and which will assure to all the means for realizing the best possibilities of life;
- They advocate such ways of dealing with offenders against society as shall transform the wrongdoer rather than inflict retributive punishment;
- They endeavor to show reverence for personality—in the home, in the education of children, in association with persons of other classes, nationalities, and races;
- They seek to avoid bitterness and contention, and to maintain the spirit of self-giving love while engaged in the struggle to achieve these purposes.

All persons, regardless of race, sex or religious affiliation, who conscientiously support this affirmation of purpose, are invited to become members of the Fellowship. Membership is not conditional upon contributions of money. However, contributions are invited and are deductible for income tax purposes. For a free copy of the full Statement of Purpose (with membership application), write to Box 271, Nyack, New York.

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222 So. Downey Avenue
Indianapolis, Indiana

EPISCOPAL PACIFIST FELLOWSHIP
Rev. Freedom Wentworth III
77 Brentwood Drive
Malden 48, Mass.

FELLOWSHIP OF METHODIST PACIFISTS
Mrs. Margarita Will
18W 684 13 Street
Lombard, Illinois

LIBERAL RELIGIOUS PEACE FELLOWSHIP
Rev. George Brooks
Unitarian Church, Dunkirk, N. Y.

LUTHERAN PEACE FELLOWSHIP
Rev. Albert E. Myers
3140 Green Valley Road
Cheyenne, Wyoming

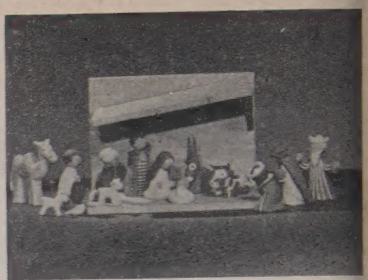
NEW CHURCH PACIFIST FELLOWSHIP
Gustave J. Bischof
471 Ocean Parkway
Brooklyn 18, N. Y.

PEACE FELLOWSHIP OF PRESBYTERIANS
Mrs. B. W. Hamilton
52 East 66 Street
New York City

SOUTHERN PRESBYTERIAN PEACE FELLOWSHIP
Rev. Henry Lofquist
Snow Hill, N. C.

UNITED CHURCH PEACE FELLOWSHIP (CONGR.-E & R)
Rev. Theodore A. Braun
807 West Beaver Avenue
State College, Penna.

What are Christmas cards made of?



PAPER, INK, a sick-sick-sick "hate" message? Or add to the recipe a touch of gilt and substitute a more conventionally inane verse. Millions of people are plunking down good money each year for these so-called "Christmas" cards.

But wait—don't abandon Christmas to the hucksters just yet. Have a look at our wares. Here's the recipe: paper, ink, sensitive and appropriate pictures and verses—plus the most important ingredient of all: the spirit of peace and brotherhood and joy that Christmas has symbolized for centuries. This is the one thing that Madison Avenue can't sell you. At your local stationery store you may be able to come close on every point, even including the right picture and the right words, if you look hard enough. But in Fellowship cards the message we print is deeply rooted in a tangible year-round program that works toward the fulfilment of the joyous Christmas hope of peace. There is not a penny of profit in these cards. The proceeds from every card we sell goes into the program of the Fellowship of Reconciliation.

It's as simple as that. But if altruism is involved, it is not at all painful, as you'll agree when you see the cards themselves. They are beautiful and they are inexpensive. If you are on our mailing list, samples of the new 1960 cards will be on their way to you soon. If not, write for a Fellowship Christmas Cards Sampler at no cost or obligation.

The Peaceable Kingdom

THOUSANDS OF PEOPLE have been solving their Christmas card problem through Fellowship cards. Now the Fellowship offers a solution to your Christmas *gift* problem. In addition to our good selection of books for gift-giving, we are adding a high-fidelity 12" long-playing recording of Randall Thompson's THE PEACEABLE KINGDOM, an oratorio that sets to music the powerful words of the prophet Isaiah. Sung by the celebrated Singing City Choir of Philadelphia under the direction of Elaine Brown, this disk also features a selection of "Songs of Brotherhood," including a new choral setting of the beloved Prayer of St. Francis, by Donald McAfee.

"THE PEACEABLE KINGDOM and songs of brotherhood" is scheduled for release November 15. Price: $5.95 *stereo*; $4.95 *monaural*. Special pre-release price for advance orders by FELLOWSHIP readers only: $4.50 *stereo*; $3.75 *monaural*. Please note that copies will not be shipped until November 15, but advance orders will be accepted now.

FELLOWSHIP CARDS FOR FELLOWSHIP RECORDS

Box 271, Nyack, New York